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From the Editor

To celebrate the 50th anniversary of our Society – it was established in 1970 – the ONS Council is organising a conference in Oxford next April. There will be speakers on a wide range of subjects across Oriental numismatics. Please make a note of the planned dates for the conference: April 18-19, 2020. We welcome members from all our chapters to attend in person.

In the meantime, this issue presents new discoveries in the Kuras and Islamic coinage, Sasanian coins found in China, and several papers on British Indian coinage of the 18th-19th centuries.

Karan Singh

UNPUBLISHED DRACHMS OF ZOILOS II AND BHADRAYASHA

Heinz Gawlik and Saad M. Mirza

The coins of the later Indo-Greek kings are still the topic of discussions concerning the number of rulers having the same name, their relative chronology, as well as their relationship with contemporary dynasties like the Indo-Scythians.

New variety of drachm issued by Zoilos II

The discovery of a new coin should contribute fresh data to help resolve these questions, but sometimes it raises further questions instead. Such a coin was offered by Classical Numismatic Group (eAuction 414) in February 2018. It is an unpublished drachm issued in the name of Zoilos II (Fig. 1).

☐ ξ De Β Bha



Fig. 1. Unpublished drachm of Zoilos II' (2.24 g, 16 mm, 12h)

Obverse: Diademed bust of a young man right with a roughly engraved Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (ΖΩΙΛΑΟΥ).
Reverse: Athena Alkidemos left with a dotted shield raised in her left hand and a thunderbolt in the uplifted right hand.

This drachm bears on its reverse the so-called 'Jammu' monogram, associated with the region of the western Himalayas, and the Kharoshthi field letters *De* and *Bha*. The legend in Kharoshthi reads: *Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa* (King Zoilos the Saviour).

There are several distinct types of portraits on drachms issued with the name Zoilos Soter (Fig. 2). There are ongoing discussions as to whether these coins belong to a single Zoilos or whether these are issues of more than one ruler with the same name. In literature, the coins issued in the name of a later Indo-Greek king Zoilos are attributed predominantly to a Zoilos II. The dates for this king differ: c. 75–50 BC (Mitchiner), c. 65–55 BC (Bopearachchi) and c. 55–35 BC (Jakobsson). Jakobsson argues for an additional Zoilos III (c. 45–35 BC) on the basis of significant differences in the depiction of portraits. The coins in Fig. 2 show stylistic differences in the depiction of a person named Zoilos, with features expressing differences in the age of the person.



Type 459q Mitchiner: 2.01 g, 16.3–17.0 mm, 12h



Type 459d Mitchiner



Type 459i Mitchiner: 2.20 g, 15.7–16.7 mm, 1h



Type in Senior (1999), Gawlik (2018):
2.27 g, 15.0–16.1 mm



Type in Senior (2006), Gawlik (2018)

Fig. 2. Portraits on drachms of Zoilos II/III

The last two coins show an almost similar face, but, besides the different monograms, the hair is straight in one and curled in the other. It is understood that none of the portraits in Fig. 2 is the accurate reflection of the real image of the person, but these portraits do differ from the portrait seen in Fig. 1. Nevertheless, the coins issued by a local ruler Bhadrashya show parallels, with a recognisable similarity in the portrait and in the details of Athena

on reverse. Two examples of Bhadrashya's coins are illustrated in Fig. 3.

Obverse: Diademed bust of a young man facing right with a blundered Greek legend in the name of Zoilos: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΑΙΙΥ*.

Reverse: Athena Alkidemos left with a dotted shield raised in her left hand and a thunderbolt in the uplifted right hand.

The Jammu monogram is the same variant as on the coin in Fig. 1, but the field letters are different with *Im* and *Mu* or *Dra*. The Kharoshthi legend reads *Maharajasa Tratarasa Bhadrashya*.

☐ { *Mu/Dra* (?) } Im



Fig. 3. Two drachms of Bhadrashya (Type 476b Mitchiner)

The Kharoshthi field letter *Bha* on the discussed coin of Zoilos (Fig. 1) is also the first letter of Bhadrashya's name, but this might be a coincidence. At least it would be an interesting accident if there is no connection between the two coins and names. Another similarity between the coin illustrated in Fig. 1 and the coins of Bhadrashya is the design of the lower part of Athena's skirt (Fig. 4).



Zoilos new coin (Fig. 1)

Bhadrashya

Fig. 4. Lower part of Athena's skirt on coin of Zoilos (Fig. 1) and coins of Bhadrashya

All other coins issued in the name of Zoilos have a very particular design of Athena's skirt, with the depiction of three bobbles beneath the bottom seam (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Lower part of Athena's skirt seen on coins of late Indo-Greek kings with the name Zoilos (as shown in Fig. 2)

The bobbles on Athena's skirt are also seen on drachms issued by later Indo-Greek kings with the name Strato (Fig. 6). An exception are drachms of Type 486f (Mitchiner) attributed to Strato III, which can show differences in the number of bobbles.



Type 469c Mitchiner



Type 468d Mitchiner: 2.40 g, 14.6-15.5 mm, 1h



Type 468f Mitchiner: 2.38 g, 14.2-14.9 mm, 1h

Fig. 6. Three drachms of later Indo-Greek kings with the name Strato

New variety of drachm issued by Bhadrayasha

Senior (2001) describes two varieties of drachms for Bhadrayasha. The first, more common, variety has the boxy 'Jammu' monogram and the field letters *Mu/Dra?* and *Im* as shown in Fig. 3. The second and rare variety has the monogram but no field letters.

We can now illustrate two specimens of a new and hitherto unlisted variety issued by Bhadrayasha (Fig. 7). These show a variant of the boxy monogram with field letters *Ra* and *Dha*. We believe these two coins were part of a hoard found in Jhang district of Punjab province, Pakistan, in September 2016. The hoard consisted of silver drachms issued by later Indo-Greek/ Indo-Scythian rulers Zoilos II, Strato II, Bhadrayasha and Rajuvula. The total number of coins in the hoard is unknown to the authors. It is said that all coins of Bhadrayasha in the hoard were of Type 476b Mitchiner (1975) and 160.2D Senior (2001), except the two coins illustrated in Fig. 7. These coins look more debased than the known varieties of Bhadrayasha and the legends are cruder in execution.



2.15 g, 16.2 mm, 3h



2.25 g, 15.2 mm, 1h

Fig. 7. Drachms of Bhadrayasha (Type 476 Mitchiner) with unlisted combination of field letters

The Greek legend is unreadable, but there are indications that it follows the same pattern as on other coins of Bhadrayasha. The letters on the right side have some similarity with ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ and on the bottom it looks like a corrupt ΖΩΙΛΟΥ. The Kharoshthi legend is clearer with *Maharaja Bhadrayashasa* visible. The skirt of Athena Alkidemos on reverse does not have bobbles, like other drachms of Bhadrayasha.

Concluding remarks

The chronology of the later Indo-Greek kings is rather uncertain and it is worthwhile examining the portraiture on drachms of the period, as stated by Senior (2006). The newly discovered drachm issued in the name of Zoilos could be seen as a missing link, but it raises rather more questions than it answers. Senior (2006) writes for coins of Bhadrayasha that the engraver probably did not understand Greek as an explanation for the different names, Zoilos and Bhadrayasha, rather than these being jointly issued coins. The new coin might be a further indication that the coins of Bhadrayasha were issued closer to the period of kings with the name Zoilos rather than being contemporary with the later Strato as assumed by Senior (2006).

Nevertheless, the discussed coin of Zoilos (Fig. 1) with a portrait similar to the portrait on the coins of Bhadrayasha's drachms raises further questions:

Is the new coin an issue of another *Maharajasa* with the name Zoilos?

If it is a new king, what is his relation to others with the name Zoilos?

Is it a contemporary ruler or relative of another king Zoilos?

Has the field letter *Bha* any connection to the name Bhadrayasha?

Could this Zoilos have changed his name to Bhadrayasha?

Was Bhadrayasha an Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, or indigenous ruler?

Many of these questions have already been raised in literature, but it is all currently speculation at this stage of our knowledge.

The new variety of drachm issued in the name of Bhadrayasha/Zoilos(?) (Fig. 7) appears to be of a later date than the two varieties already known. The detailed break-up of the hoard in which it was found is not known, which could have provided more information about the context between the later Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian rulers of this period.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Robert Bracey for his valuable inputs and for our discussion about portraiture on coins of the late Indo-Greeks and the possibility of attribution of monograms to a mint, region or city.

References

1. Illustration reproduced by courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

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FIRST GOLD SEAL OF THE KURAS DISCOVERED

Karan Singh

The Kurus were one of the regional powers in the Deccan that sprang up at the start of the first millennium CE. They were late contemporaries of the Satavahanas,¹ and issued coins mostly in lead (Fig. 2) and a few in potin (Fig. 3), which are primarily found in the Kolhapur-Belgaum region.² Their dynastic symbol is the bow and arrow, which features prominently on all their coins. Gold is not yet known for this dynasty.

I therefore wish to present the first gold seal of the Kurus to be discovered (Fig. 1), a unique specimen that is now in my collection.



Fig. 1. Gold seal of Maharathi Baduka (14.5 mm, 2.67 g)

The seal has a bow and arrow in the centre, with a Brahmi legend around, written anti-clockwise (in negative),³ starting at 10 o'clock:

*mahārathi-bādukāya kurāya*⁴

“(of) Mahārathi Badukā, (a member of the) Kurā (dynasty)”

An important element in the legend is the *āya*-ending in *bādukāya* – it implies that the person is female. Since Baduka is a lady,⁵ the question then arises: Why is she not using the female version of the Maharathi title, i.e. *Maharathini*? Instead, her title is written as *Maharathi* – this implies that Baduka is using a male title despite being a woman. This point will be discussed further below.

The palaeography of the script suggests a date of 1st-2nd century CE.⁶ A minor point to note in the legend is that the letter *ku* has two projections for the vowel *u* – one projection is lighter than the other, so it is possible that this was an error that was later erased, because it was made on the wrong side of the letter *ka*.⁷ On the reverse there are two hoops for attaching the seal to a string.

Historical background

The seal has links to both the Maharathis and the Kurus, who are known from their coins.



Fig. 2. Lead coin of Gautamiputra Vilivayakura⁸



Fig. 3. Potin coin of Gautamiputra Vilivayakura⁹ (3.10 g)

Maharathi was a feudatory title under the Satavahanas and their contemporaries. The Kurus originally used this title before moving to the grander, royal *Rajno* title.¹⁰ Around twelve Kura rulers are recorded so far.

Table A. List of Kura rulers known from their coins¹¹

Ruler's Name	Title(s)
Kura	<i>Maharathi</i>
Vilivayakura (I?)	<i>Maharathi</i>
Sivalakura	<i>Maharathi</i>
Haritiputra Vilivayakura Maharathiputra	<i>Maharathiputra</i>
Madhariputra Sivalakura	<i>Maharathi</i> <i>Rajno</i>
Gautamiputra Sivalakura	<i>Rajno</i>
Gautamiputra Vilivayakura	<i>Rajno</i>
Vasisthiputra Kura	<i>Rajno</i>
Vasisthiputra Sivakura	<i>Rajno</i>
Sivakura	Not clear
Vasisthiputra Vilivayakura	<i>Rajno</i>
Vilivayakura (II?)	<i>Rajno</i>

Four rulers used the *Maharathi* title and one called himself *Maharathiputra* (son of a Maharathi). Maharathi Baduka is not known from coins or inscriptions, and probably ruled during this early phase.

Madhariputra Sivalakura, who issued coins with both *Maharathi* and *Rajno* titles, was probably the ruler who made the move to *Rajno* to reflect his independent status.

Significance of the seal

This seal was made in gold when the Kurus and their contemporaries, the Satavahanas, did not issue any coins in gold. The importance of this discovery cannot be over-emphasised. The seal carries the Kura symbol of bow and arrow with the legend *mahārathi-bādukāya kurāya*. This is clearly the seal of a ruler of the Kura dynasty.

Secondly, since Baduka was a lady and using the male *Maharathi* title, one can assume she was holding power in her own right, possibly as the daughter of a Maharathi who succeeded her father,¹² and that she did not want her position to be defined by her gender.

We do have another, well-known, instance in Indian history when a female ruler used a male title: Raziyya Sultan (1236-1240 CE) preferred to use the male title *Sultan* instead of the feminine title *Sultana*.¹³ It is possible that, like Raziyya, Baduka wanted to show that she was as able as a male Maharathi, and that her gender was irrelevant when ruling a state.

Conclusion

This is the first recorded gold seal of the Kura dynasty. It is doubly important as it reveals a hitherto unknown female ruler, Maharathi Baduka. She used the male title *Maharathi*, thereby providing a tantalising glimpse into gender roles in ancient India.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Harry Falk, Padmakar Prabhune, Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor, Badri Prasad Verma, and Raju Bhatt for their comments and helpful discussions on the gold seal, its legend, and its significance.

References

1. In the excavation report of Brahmapuri (modern Kolhapur), Satavahana coins were found from Layers 3-10, while Kura coins were unearthed from Layers 6-10 (H.D. Sankalia & M.G. Dikshit, *Excavations at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) 1945-46*, 1952).
2. Smita Halder, 'The Kuras in Early Historic Deccan: A Numismatic Appraisal', *Money and Money Matters in Pre-Modern South Asia*, pp. 244-246.
3. On a seal the legend was engraved in negative so that it could be used to imprint wet clay with the legend in positive, thereby providing proof of authenticity to an object or person.
4. The legend was read by Harry Falk, Padmakar Prabhune, and Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor.
5. This was confirmed by Harry Falk and Padmakar Prabhune in private communications.
6. Padmakar Prabhune and Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor, private communications.
7. Harry Falk, private communication.
8. Author's collection.
9. Stephen Album Auction 29, Lot 1361.
10. Shailendra Bhandare, Introduction, 'Historic Analysis of the Satavahana Era: A study of Coins', unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the University of Mumbai, 1998.
11. Smita Halder, 'The Kuras in Early Historic Deccan: A Numismatic Appraisal', *Money and Money Matters in Pre-Modern South Asia*, pp. 248-251.
12. If Baduka had come to power by marriage, she would have had the *Maharathini* title as the wife of a Maharathi. However, if she was the daughter of a Maharathi, she would have been in a stronger position to take the male title when ascending to his position.
13. Stan Goron & J.P. Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, p. 26.

FIFTH CENTURY SASANIAN COINS FOUND IN GUANGDONG PROVINCE, SOUTHERN CHINA

Joe Cribb

In 1984 a hoard of gold and silver objects was discovered during agricultural construction work at the village of Bianwan in southern China. This lies to the east of Suixi city, close to the west bank of the Xixi river, which flows into the inlet at the port of Zhanjiang city in Guangdong province. Apart from gold and silver vessels and jewellery, there were 20 Sasanian coins in this hoard. These provide datable evidence of the maritime trade between Iran and south China during the early medieval period and complement the Iranian/Central Asian style vessels in the hoard.

Not all the coins have been examined, but from the original report (Chen Xue'ai 1986), from subsequent publications (e.g. Lam 1985, Ding 1996, p. 72, Li 2018), and from the images of coins provided by the Suixi Municipal Museum, via Nicholas Sims-Williams and Bi Bo, an understanding of the hoard's contents can be constructed.

Catalogue of Sasanian silver drachms in Suixi Hoard¹



SX 1

Sasanian ruler: Peroz
Date of issue: 2nd phase (c. 457-474 CE)
Mint mark: AY
Mint location: Eran-Khvarrah-Shapur, Khuzistan
Diameter, weight: 27 mm, 4.1 g
Museum number: 214
Publications: Chen 1986, fig. 3.3-4
Notes: 1 hole



SX 2

Sasanian ruler: Peroz
Date of issue: 2nd phase (c. 457-474 CE)
Mint mark: WH
Mint location: Gunde Shapur, Khuzistan
Diameter, weight: 27 mm, 4.2 g
Museum number: 213
Publications: -
Notes: 1 hole



SX 3

Sasanian ruler: Peroz
Date of issue: 2nd phase (c. 457-474 CE)
Mint mark: WH
Mint location: Ray, Media
Diameter, weight: 27 mm, 3.9 g
Museum number: 211
Publications: -
Notes: 1 hole



SX 4

Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: 2nd phase (c. 457-474 CE)
 Mint mark: KL
 Mint location: Shirajan locality, Kirman
 Diameter, weight: 29 mm, 4.0 g
 Museum number: 196
 Publications: Lam 1985, fig. 38a
 Notes: 1 hole



SX 8

Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: 3rd phase (c. 474-484 CE)
 Mint mark: ST
 Mint location: Istakhr, Fars
 Diameter, weight: 29 mm, 3.9 g
 Museum number: 217
 Publications: Lam 1985, fig. 38d
 Notes: 1 hole

SX 5 (Not seen)



SX 6

Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: 3rd phase (c. 474-484 CE)
 Mint mark: ST
 Mint location: Istakhr, Fars
 Diameter, weight: 29 mm, 3.9 g
 Museum number: 217
 Publications: Lam 1985, fig. 38d
 Notes: 1 hole



SX 9

Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: 3rd phase (c. 474-484 CE)
 Mint mark: ST
 Mint location: Istakhr, Fars
 Diameter, weight: 29 mm, 3.9 g
 Museum number: 217
 Publications: Lam 1985, fig. 38d
 Notes: 1 hole



SX 7

Sasanian ruler: Peroz?
 Date of issue: 3rd phase (c. 474-484? CE)
 Mint mark: ST (obverse not seen)
 Mint location: -
 Diameter, weight: -
 Museum number: -
 Publications: Ding 1996, p. 72, fig. 2.27a;
 Kin 2018, fig. 27a
 Notes: 2 holes



SX 10

Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: 3rd phase (c. 474-484 CE)
 Mint mark: ST
 Mint location: Istakhr, Fars
 Diameter, weight: 29 mm, 3.9 g
 Museum number: 217
 Publications: Lam 1985, fig. 38d
 Notes: 1 hole

SX 11-16 (Not seen)



SX 17

Sasanian ruler: Walkash
 Date of issue: 484-488 CE
 Mint mark: KA
 Mint location: Karzi, Fars
 Diameter, weight: 29 mm, 3.9 g
 Museum number: 212
 Publications: -
 Notes: Broken, 1 hole



SX 18

Sasanian ruler: Walkash
 Date of issue: 484-488 CE
 Mint mark: LY
 Mint location: Ray, Media
 Diameter, weight: 31 mm, 3.1 g
 Museum number: 197
 Publications: Chen 1986, fig. 3.1-2;
 Lam 1985, fig. 38b
 Notes: 1 hole

SX19 (Not seen)



SX 20

Sasanian ruler: Kavad I, first reign
 Date of issue: 488-497 CE
 Mint mark: KA
 Mint location: Karzi, Fars
 Diameter, weight: 28 mm, 4.0 g
 Museum number: 218
 Publications: Chen 1986, fig. 3.5-6, fig. 38c
 Notes: 1 hole

The original report, and most of the subsequent publications (e.g. Ding 1996, p. 72, Watt 2004, pp. 20-22) referring to the find, misidentify the coins as issues of Shapur III (383-388 CE) and Peroz (457-484 CE). Thierry (1993, p. 93) in his inventory of Sasanian coins found in China recognised that the second phase coins of Peroz were the earliest coins in the hoard and identified the coins of Walkash and Kavad I, but read the name of the king on the

reverse of both as dates and so placed the coin of Kawad I in his second reign. To confuse the matter further, in his discussion he mistakenly reattributed the coins of Walkash to Zamasp (497-499 CE), but correctly assigned the Kawad I coin to his first reign.

The attributions presented here show that the earliest coins in the hoard are from the early reign of Peroz (457-484 CE) and the latest coin is from the first reign of Kawad I (488-497 CE), so their issue can be dated from before c. 474 to 488-497 CE. The condition of the coins does not suggest a long period of circulation, so the group was probably assembled during Kawad I's first reign itself. The circulation of all these coins together is consistent with the Sasanian currency system of the period. It is not easy to say how long after their coming together they were exported to China. It is only possible to set a *terminus post quem* for their export at the beginning of the issue of this type of coin in 488 CE.

All the coins seen, but one, have been pierced with a single hole so they can be hung from a necklace or stitched to clothing. One example has two holes, and perhaps another (Ding 1996, p. 72, fig. 2.27a-b). It is not possible to tell whether this happened before or after their export, as there are both single and double pierced examples of Peroz and Kawad I coins collected in Iran in the Iran National Museum (Curtis et al. 2010, vol. 1, nos. 258, 271, 276, 299, 300). Their use as ornaments does, however, suggest that they were not deposited in Bianwan until some time after they were assembled. It seems likely that they were buried at a date in the sixth century.

There are two other recorded finds of Sasanian coins in Guangdong province, but the coins have not previously been correctly attributed beyond being issues of Peroz (Feng 1961; Ding 1996; Li 2018). A find at Yingde, about 100 km to the north of Guangzhou, came from a tomb, datable by inscribed bricks giving dates of Jianwu year 4 (497 CE) and Yongyuan year 1 (499 CE), said to contain coins of Peroz. From the illustrations in the report, the coins are recognisable as issues of Peroz, from both his second and third phase of coinage (see YD 1-3). The coins are pierced for use as ornaments, like the coins from Bianwan. The report by Thierry (1993, p. 93), misread the mints on these coins and the name of Peroz on the reverse of one of them as a date.



YD 1

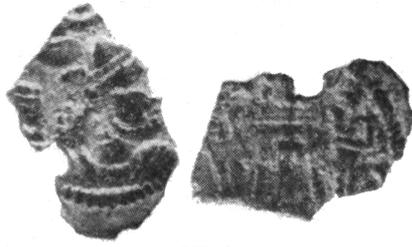
Tomb: Yingde, dated c. 499 CE
 Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 2, year 4 = 460 CE
 Mint mark: KL
 Mint location: Shirajan, Kirman
 Diameter, weight: 27x25 mm, 2.3 g
 Publications: Feng 1961, figs. 3-4, no. 2;
 Ding 1996, p. 72, fig. 2.27e;
 Li 2018, fig. 27e
 Notes: Broken, two holes



YD 2

Tomb: Yingde, dated c. 499 CE

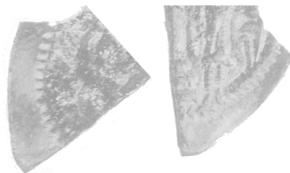
Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 3 (c. 474–484 CE)
 Mint mark: AS
 Mint location: Ctesiphon, Asuristan
 Diameter, weight: 21x18 mm
 Publications: Feng 1961, figs. 3–4, no. 1
 Notes: Broken, one hole



YD 3

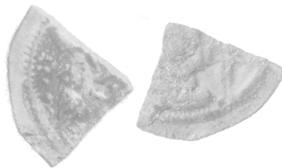
Tomb: Yingde, dated c. 499 CE
 Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 3 (c. 474–484 CE)
 Mint mark: Illegible
 Mint location: -
 Diameter, weight: 22x12 mm
 Publications: Feng 1961, figs. 3–4, no. 3
 Notes: Broken, one hole

The other find was made in tomb 3 at the Nanhua temple at Qujiang, about 50 km north of Yingde, and consisted of nine cut quarters of Peroz drachms,² also of both his second and third phase (QJ 1-9). There is no evidence of these coins being pierced.



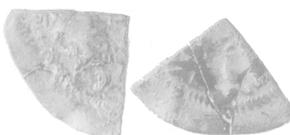
QJ 1

Tomb: Qujiang tomb 3, undated
 Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 2 (c. 459-474 CE)
 Mint mark: AY
 Mint location: Eran-Khvarrah-Shapur, Khuzistan
 Diameter, weight: 15x13 mm
 Publications: Yang 1983, fig. 8, no. 6b, pl. 1–2, no. 1b



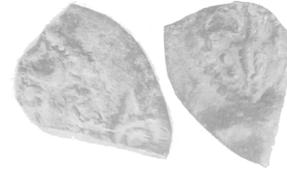
QJ 2

Tomb: Qujiang tomb 3, undated
 Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 2 (c. 459-474 CE)
 Mint mark: Illegible
 Mint location: -
 Diameter, weight: 17x17 mm
 Publications: Yang 1983, fig. 8, no. 3, pl. 1–2, no. 3



QJ 3

Tomb: Qujiang tomb 3, undated
 Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 2 (c. 459-474 CE)
 Mint mark: Illegible
 Mint location: -
 Diameter, weight: 19x14 mm
 Publications: Yang 1983, fig. 8, no. 4; pl. 1–2, no. 2



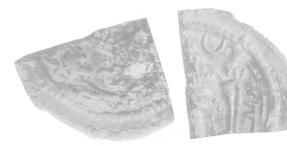
QJ 4

Tomb: Qujiang tomb 3, undated
 Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 2 (c. 459-474 CE)
 Mint mark: Illegible
 Mint location: -
 Diameter, weight: 16x12 mm
 Publications: Yang 1983, fig. 8, no. 5, pl. 1–2, no. 7; Göbl 1967, no. 84, cf. Type 283c, nos. 1, 6, 10 and 11
 Notes: Countermarked



QJ 5

Tomb: Qujiang tomb 3, undated
 Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 3 (c. 474-484 CE)
 Mint mark: ART
 Mint location: Ardashir Khvarrah, Fars
 Diameter, weight: 16x14 mm
 Publications: Yang 1983, fig. 8, no. 1, pl. 1–2, no. 5



QJ 6

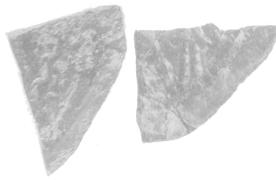
Tomb: Qujiang tomb 3, undated
 Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 3 (c. 474-484 CE)
 Mint mark: DA
 Mint location: Darabgird, Fars
 Diameter, weight: 21x16 mm
 Publications: Yang 1983, fig. 8, no. 6a, pl. 1–2, no. 1a



QJ 7

Tomb: Qujiang tomb 3, undated
 Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 3 (c. 474-484 CE)
 Mint mark: -

Mint location: -
 Diameter, weight: 18x13 mm
 Publications: Yang 1983, fig. 8, no. 2, pl. 1–2, no. 6



QJ 8

Tomb: Qujiang tomb 3, undated
 Sasanian ruler: Peroz
 Date of issue: Phase 3 (c. 474-484 CE)
 Mint mark: -
 Mint location: -
 Diameter, weight: 16x11 mm
 Publications: Yang 1983, pl. 1–2, no. 8



QJ 9

Tomb: Qujiang tomb 3, undated
 Sasanian ruler: Illegible
 Date of issue: -
 Mint mark: -
 Mint location: -
 Diameter, weight: 18x13 mm
 Publications: Yang 1983, pl. 1–2, no. 4

Although the treatment of coins in each of the three finds varies, with one or two holes or cut into quarters, the range of coins is very similar. The Suixi Hoard seems to represent a slightly later arrival, but the later coins are rarer than the coins of Peroz, so the smaller groups may be of a similar date and simply missing the rarer coins. The mints present in the hoards show the coins to be mostly from western Iranian mints, apparently suggesting that they were exported through the Persian Gulf.

However, the coins of Peroz's eastern mints are very scarce (Schindel 2004, vol. 1, pp. 188–189), so one cannot use their absence as an indicator of the locality of the point of departure for the export of these coins. A similar distribution of mints can also be seen in the finds of Peroz coins in northern China and coins countermarked in Central Asia (northern Afghanistan and Uzbekistan) (see Table A). The mints of the Peroz coins from the Guangdong finds, therefore, reflect the normality of the currency of Peroz drachms in both Iran and in Central Asia. The finds in northern China are presumably exports via Central Asia. It is only the discovery of these finds in South China that raises the question of their arrival by the maritime route starting from the Persian Gulf.

In the Qujiang find, there is a coin which appears to have a Central Asian countermark in Bactrian script, showing its earlier circulation in northern Afghanistan or Uzbekistan. In the British Museum, the Hermitage Museum, and in a private collection now in the Ashmolean Museum, there are four examples of Peroz coins carrying this countermark (Göbl 1967, Vol. 1, pp. 194–195, countermark 84). Göbl lists 25 Peroz coins with Central Asian countermarks, which show a similar range of mints to the Guangdong finds (see Table A).

Table A. Comparison of Guangdong finds with similar finds from northern China³ and Peroz coins with Central Asian countermarks

	Mint mark	Mint	Province	T.52	T.27	T.47	Göbl 1967 Type 283	T.9	T.12	T.32	T.50
Dated find					499 CE					484 CE	637 CE
Location				Suixi	Yingde	Qujiang	with Central Asia counter-marks	Luoyan, Henan	Xining, Qinghai	Dingxian, Hebei	Anlu, Hubei
Peroz phase 2	BBA	court mint					1				
	AS	Ctesiphon	Asuristan				1			1	3
	AH	Hamadan	Media						1		
	LD	Ray	Media	1							
	ART	Ardashir Khvarrah	Fars						1		
	DA	Darabgird	Fars				1			2	
	ST	Istakhr	Fars				1		1	1	
	AY	Eran-Khvarrah-Shapur	Khuzistan	1		1	1			15	
	LYW	Rev Ardashir	Khuzistan							1	
	WH	Gunde Shapur	Khuzistan	1						3	
	KL	Shirajan	Kirman	1	1		1				
Peroz phase 3	BBA	court mint							1	1	1
	AS	Ctesiphon	Asuristan			1					3
	ST	Istakhr	Fars	2			2		1		
	NY	Nihavand	Media	1			2		1		1
	LD	Ray	Media				1				
	ART	Ardashir Khvarrah	Fars			1					
	DA	Darabgird	Fars			1	1				
	AY	Eran-Khvarrah-Shapur	Khuzistan				5	1		1	4
	LYW	Rev Ardashir	Khuzistan				1				1
	WH	Gunde Shapur	Khuzistan	1			1		1	1	1
	KL	Shirajan	Kirman				2		1	1	
Walkash	LY	Ray	Media	1							
	KA	Karzi	Fars	1							
Kawad I	KA	Karzi	Fars	1							
	AY	Eran-Khvarrah-Shapur	Khuzistan					1			
<i>Not seen or uncertain</i>				9	3		4	14	68	10	1



Fig. 1. Map of mints that issued the Sasanian coins found in Guangdong province (mints in italics are missing from the Suixi Hoard)

Examples of Peroz coins with Central Asian countermarks are in the National Museum of Iran (Curtis et al. 2010, vol. 1, nos. 227, 238 and 278), suggesting that coins current in Central Asia could circulate back into Iran, so the countermarked coin cannot be used as firm evidence of the import of the Qujiang coins overland into China via Central Asia. The strongest indication from the coins in the Suixi Hoard of it having arrived by sea, are the latest coins in the hoard, issues of Walkash and Kawad I which were made at the mint of Karzi in Fars in south-western Iran. Karzi was the closest mint to the port of Siraf (Schindel 2004, Vol. 1, p. 177), the main Sasanian port on the Persian Gulf. These coins therefore suggest the Suixi Hoard coins were assembled in that vicinity, soon after the production of the Walkash and Kawad I coins, and therefore they would most likely have been exported from Iran to China by sea.

Although there is plenty of evidence for the currency of Sasanian silver drachms in early medieval Xinjiang from the mid-sixth century until the end of the seventh century (Wang 2004, pp. 34–36; 75–92; Thierry 1993, pp. 96–99), the finds from Guangdong province do not fit into such a system. They were all imported before the adoption of Persian silver coins as money in Xinjiang and have all been converted into forms which lend themselves for use as ornaments. They are also more frequently found in tombs or hoarded with precious objects, which likewise points to their use as personal decorations rather than as money. The finds of Peroz coins from northern China show a similar non-monetary context. The Suixi Hoard coins appear therefore to have probably been imported as traded goods, rather than as the means of trading, as exotic ornaments rather than as money. Their function as ornaments makes it difficult to assess their date of deposit. The only indication that they might have been deposited soon after their arrival comes from the related find at Yingde, where the coins were deposited in a grave, c. 499 CE.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks to Nicholas Sims-Williams and Bi Bo for drawing these hoards to my attention and for supplying me with photographs of the Suixi Hoard coins. Thanks also to Suixi Museum for giving permission for the photographs of the coins to be reproduced here. I am also grateful to my former colleague Vesta Curtis for her advice on mint attributions. I also want to express my appreciation of the scholarship of Nicholas Schindel in his study of fifth century Sasanian coins, which made this study possible.

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1. The coins SX 1-20 have been identified using the latest study of Sasanian coins of this period (Schindel 2004).
2. Thierry (1993, p. 95) did not identify the coins and mis-described them as cut in half, not in quarters. Ding (1996, fig. 2.27 c–d) and Li (2018, fig. 27 c–d) illustrated eight of the cut quarters from Qujiang, but the photographs are unclear.

3. T = Thierry 1993, pp. 89–96, inventory of Sasanian coin finds in China. Peroz coins were also found in Thierry finds nos. 15, 16, 28, 48, 49, 51, 53, 57 and 59 from northern China and Xinjiang, but the original publications lack sufficient data for comparison to be possible.

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CHRISTIAN COPPER COIN TYPE FROM MEDIEVAL CAUCASUS: FURTHER ANALYSIS

Irakli Paghava, Giorgi Chachava and Goga Gabashvili

Metal-detecting activities in the states of the South Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia) provide for a constant influx of new numismatic material, albeit at the cost of violating the (potential) archeological context. Nevertheless, significant conclusions can be drawn thereupon. The monitoring (and reporting) of the commercial antiques markets in this region has therefore become one of the major tasks of local scholars active in the area of numismatics; otherwise, scores of numismatic facts would be lost forever.

Sometimes the available data do not yield easily to analysis; however, subsequent discoveries provide the diligent numismatist with an opportunity to build upon the previous data and even arrive to different conclusions.

By means of this short note we would like to publish additional data on a peculiar copper coin type, of which only two specimens have been published previously. One of them was found in the environs of the major medieval Armenian city of Dvin, while the other was found in the vicinity of Samskhilde, a prominent medieval Georgian city. The former was published and attributed to Dvin by Alexandr Akopyan in 2014; he interpreted the image on the

obverse as an effigy of Jesus Christ the Saviour.¹ The latter specimen from Samshvilde was published by us in 2015 (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Specimen from Samshvilde (22 mm, 1.79 g)

However, we could not see the cruciform halo so typical of the imagery of Christ on either specimen. Taking into account their typological semblance to the silver (billon?) issues of Davit IV (Fig. 2), the Builder of Georgia (1089-1125 CE), we conjectured, “albeit somewhat tentatively, that this coin type was minted by Davit IV, the prominent Georgian monarch of the 11th-12th c., and not the Dvin authorities. If true, these coins would constitute an absolutely novel class of Georgian coinage of the Byzantine type”.



Fig. 2. Davit IV silver (billon?) coin

Our hypothesis with regard to the attribution of the two anonymous copper coins was based on two arguments:

1. Interpretation of the figure on its obverse as the Holy Virgin, and
2. Similarity of a complex cross made of thick arms decorated with “jewels” (i.e. dots) on its reverse to the cross on the reverse of some silver coins of Davit IV.

As for the evidence provided by find locations, the data was inconclusive (1 found in northern Armenia, and 1 in southern Georgia).²

Some new specimens have since been discovered: at least 4 more coins of the same type have been reported, all of them discovered in Armenia in the vicinity of Dvin. Some of these are better preserved and leave no doubt that Christ was depicted on the obverse, and not the Holy Virgin (albeit with a simple, and not cruciform halo, which seems to be an irregularity).

This new data on find sites and iconographic peculiarities naturally questioned our earlier attribution and made it relatively improbable. Therefore, based on the new evidence, in the early draft version of the present article³ we reconsidered this coin type and agreed with our colleague Alexandr Akopyan that it was probably issued in Dvin, and not in Georgia (by Davit IV or anyone else).

However, a new specimen discovered recently has again altered our understanding of this copper coin type (Fig. 3). It was found in February 2019 in Shulaveri, in Kvemo (Lower) Kartli region in the eastern part of Georgia.



Fig. 3. New specimen from Shulaveri

The coin is as follows: AE, weight (after cleaning) 6.00 g, dimensions approximately 23 mm.

Obverse: Shoulder-length representation of Christ with cruciform halo, holding a gospel, all within a linear circle. Traces of a legend in the margin?

Reverse: Cross, with pellets, within a beaded circle. ‘E’-like symbols oriented outwards in the quadrants. Traces of a legend in the margin?

This coin find is significant for the following reasons:

1. Its iconography distinguishes this coin from the specimens discovered earlier: Christ has the *cruciform* halo, not a plain one (which initially, in the earlier cases, made us think it was a depiction of the Holy Virgin);
2. The weight (6.00 g) also stands out in contrast to 1.79 g of the specimen from Samshvilde, or 2.3 g of the specimen from the environs of Dvin.⁴ The two earlier coins perhaps represent the same weight standard, while the new coin weighs 2.6-3.4 times more;
3. Its find location is again in Georgia, not far from major urban centres, like Dmanisi, Samshilde, Rustavi, Tbilisi and Lore.

From an iconographic point of view, the new specimen constitutes a new sub-type (Christ with the *cruciform* halo), though certainly related to the coins published earlier (Christ with the *plain* halo).

However, it is very special in terms of its weight. Either this is a new (double, or even triple) denomination; or the coins of both subtypes were minted quite haphazardly, with a very wide weight standard tolerance; or the coins of both subtypes constituted the same denomination, but were issued at some chronological interval according to an altered weight standard.

From these points of view, the new specimen constitutes a valuable source of information on medieval Caucasian numismatics.

When could it have been minted? The stray finds, with no archeological context hardly provide any chronological clue. However, the iconography may help: these copper coins with the depiction of Christ on one side and that of the cross on another were undoubtedly modeled on the ubiquitous (in the Caucasus)⁵ Byzantine anonymous copper folles (cf. Figs. 4-5), and constitute an imitative or half-imitative coinage. Therefore, we can tentatively date these coins to the 10th century to the first half of the 11th century.



Fig. 4. Byzantine anonymous follis, Class A2/3 (Zeno #128069)

Christ was depicted on these coins from the reign of John I Tzimisces (969-976 CE) (Class A1 folles), Basil II and Constantine

VIII (976-1025 CE), Constantine VIII (1025-1028 CE) (Classes A2-3) and Romanus III (1028-1034 CE) (Class B). The cross with pellets seen on the reverse first appeared on the class C folles attributed to Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034-1041 CE) (cf. with the cross on the Class B folles).⁶ We might conjecture that the *terminus ante quem non* for both sub-types of anonymous folles of Christ-Cross with pellets type could be the 1030s or probably even later, the 1040s.



Fig. 5. Byzantine anonymous folles, Class C (Zeno #127975)

As for the mint place, the coins of both our sub-types could certainly have been issued in Dvin in Armenia, but alternatively, the multiplying finds in Kvemo Kartli may point to some of the local Georgian urban centres as the mint place. So far, the extant data seem to be insufficient to draw any firm conclusion with regard to the origin of these coins.

Nevertheless, by means of this coin series we now have material evidence of the numismatic history of the medieval (urban?) Christian communities in the Caucasus.

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DINARS OF MALEK AL-UMARA QARAJE SAGHI, ATABEG OF FARS

Farbod Mosanef

Historical background

According to the Shirazname, Qaraje (Qarache) Saghi became the fourth Atabeg of Fars after the reigns of Fadluye, Rukn al-Din Khumartakin and Jalal al-Din Chaveli.¹ He was one of the men who played a major role in the political events during the rule of the Seljuq ruler Sultan Mahmud and his successors.

After the death of Sultan Muhammad on 24 Zi al-Hajja AH 511, his son Mughith al-Din Abu'l-Qasim Mahmud succeeded him.

Soon after his coronation, Mahmud was faced with riots on the part of his brothers Mas'ud and Tughrul.

Sultan Sanjar, who had been viceroy under Muhammad, but had become an independent sultan in AH 511, was determined to resolve the problems between his nephews, Mahmud, Mas'ud and Tughrul, and thus came to Jibal in central Iran with a large army. There, in AH 512, he was faced with Mahmud's troops, whom he defeated, and then he entered Rayy. Despite Mahmud's behaviour, Sanjar forgave him and invited him to his court in Rayy.

Though Sanjar ordered the execution of some of the rebel amirs, including Mankubars and Qarategin, the commander in chief of Mahmud's army, he kept Mahmud on as the Seljuq ruler of Iraq. He also appointed Tughrul as the governor of Saveh, Qazvin and Zanjan, and assigned the governorship of Fars, some part of Isfahan and Khuzistan to Mahmud's other brother, Seljuq Shah, and his Atabeg, Qaraje Saghi. The rule of Qaraje Saghi and Seljuq Shah over Fars continued until Sultan Mahmud's death in AH 526.

Qaraje Saghi built many public utilities during his governorship as Atabeg of Fars, one of which was a great school in Shiraz that remained famous long after his death, even in the Timurid period.

Sultan Mahmud's death in AH 526 provided a new opportunity for Qaraje Saghi to propose Seljuq Shah as a rival for the Seljuq throne in Jibal.

Mahmud was succeeded by his son, Abu al-Fath Da'ud, but he was soon confronted with rebellions by his uncles Mas'ud, Tughrul and Seljuq Shah. Sultan Mas'ud moved with his troops to Baghdad, but his brother Seljuq Shah and his Atabeg, accompanied by a huge army, had already entered Baghdad where the Abbasid Caliph, Al-Mustarshid billah (AH 512-529), warmly welcomed them.

Mas'ud's main ally in Iraq was Imad al-Din Zangi, and Qaraje Saghi and Seljuq Shah soon took steps to defeat him. Before the troops of Mas'ud and Seljuq Shah could engage in battle, they received news that Sultan Sanjar, their overlord, had entered Rayy to decide who would succeed Sultan Mahmud. As a result they agreed to peace between themselves, whereby Mas'ud would become king and Seljuq Shah crown prince of the Seljuq realms in Iraq. They then moved their troops to confront Sultan Sanjar who had, instead, decided to appoint Tughrul as king (AH 526-529).

The two armies met at Dinevar in AH 526. Sultan Sanjar defeated Sultan Mas'ud and his allies. Mas'ud managed to escape but Qaraje was injured and arrested on the battlefield. Three days after the battle Sultan Sanjar ordered Qaraje to be brought before him. Qaraje did not ask for mercy, whereupon Sanjar had him beheaded.

After Qaraje's death, his sons joined other rivals against Sultan Tughrul, namely Sultan Da'ud ibn Mahmud (AH 525-526) and his Atabeg, Aq Sunghur, in Azerbaijan. Sultan Da'ud attacked Sultan Tughrul near Hamadan, but Tughrul, with the support of Sanjar, defeated Da'ud in AH 526. Abu al-Fath Da'ud and Aq Sunghur escaped, but Aghlerness, Qaraje Saghi's son, who had fought bravely, was killed on the battlefield.

Seljuq Shah did not survive his former Atabeg for long: he was arrested by Boz-Aba, the sixth Atabeg of Fars, and sent to Sepid Castle, where he died in AH 533.

Coinage of Qaraje Saghi

Coins of Qaraje Saghi as Atabeg of Fars are not listed in Stephen Album.² The following two types are being published here for the first time.³

Type 1

Qaraje written vertically in the reverse left field



Fig. 1. Type 1 dinar of Qaraje Saghi

Weight: 2.39 g; diameter: 19 mm

Obverse:

عدل
لااله الا
الله وحده
شاه
المسترشد بالله
ابولقسم محمود

لاشريك له سلجوق

'*adl*
lā ilāha illā-
llāh waḥdahū
lā ṣharīka lahu
al-mustarshid billāh

seljuq engraved vertically in left field and *shāh* in right field

Inner margin: {بسم الله صر} هذا الدينار يفسا سنة عشرين و خمسمائه
bismillāh ḍarb haḍā al-dīnār bi-fasā sanah 'uṣhrīn wa
kḥamsamāya

Outer margin: Qur'an 30:3-4

Reverse:

محمد رسول الله
السلطان المعظم
اتايك
معز الدنيا و الد
قراجه
بين ابوالحرث سنجر
ملك الامرا

muḥammad rasūl allāh
al-sultān al-mua'zzam
mu'izz al-dunyā wa al-
īn abū al-ḥarḥ sanjar
malik al-umarā

qarājah engraved vertically in the left field and *atābek* in the right field.

Margin: Qur'an 9:33

Type 2

Name of Qaraje on the obverse



Fig. 2. Type 2 dinar of Qaraje Saghi

Weight: 2.57 g; diameter: 19 mm

Obverse:

لااله الاالله
المسترشد بالله
ملك الامرا
اتايك قراجه

lā ilāha illā-
al-mustarshid billāh
malik al-umara
atābek qarājah

Margin: {بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار} عشرين و خمسمائه
(bismillāh ḍarb haḍā al-dīnār) ... 'uṣhrīn wa kḥamsamāya

Outer margin: Qur'an 30:3-4

Reverse:

محمد رسول الله
معز الدنيا و الدين
شاه
ومغيث الدنيا {سلجوق}
والدين سنجر
ومحمود

muḥammad rasūl allāh
mu'izz al-dunyā wa al-dīn
wa mughīth al-dunyā
wa al-dīn sinjar
wa maḥmūd

shāh engraved vertically in right field; left field is flat so the expected name *saljuq* is not visible

Margin: Qur'an 9:33

Both these coins of Qaraje were struck during the reign of Sultan Mahmud and both cite Sultan Sanjar and Seljuq Shah. The fact that Qaraje had the honorary title (*laqab*) of *malik al-umarā* is another proof of the influence of this powerful Atabeg in the Seljuq period.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Stan Goron for kindly editing this article.

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2. This Turkish name means a wound (especially a wound on the body of a horse).
3. Stephen Album, *Checklist of Islamic Coins*, 3rd Edition, Santa Rosa, 2011.
4. Both coins are in a private collection in Tehran, Iran.

OTTOMAN COINAGE OF MEHMED III IN ARDANUÇ

Nikolaus Schindel

Ardanuç is a small town in Artvin province in northeastern Turkey. It ranks among the rarest Ottoman mints, even if *akçes* of the sultans Süleyman I the Magnificent (1520-1566 CE)¹ and Selim II the Sot (1566-1574 CE)² are moderately well-known. No coins have so far been reported for Murad III (1574-1595 CE). Mehmed III is a somewhat difficult case: one *akçe* has been attributed by Erüreten to Ardanuç,³ but while this was a plausible suggestion at the time and even accepted by Srećković,⁴ this coin shows only a fraction of the die impression. Therefore, of the mint name only the letters .ا.و. can be read, and even this not without some difficulty. Because of the style, I am now more inclined to attribute this coin to Erzurum, rather than to Ardanuç.

In the giant coin hoard of Beçin,⁵ which contained no less than 48,847 Islamic coins (mostly Ottoman issues), three coins believed to be from Ardanuç were catalogued. A re-evaluation, however, shows that these attributions were incorrect. No. 34473 of the Beçin publication was in fact struck in Üsküp; the horizontal stroke below the *ض* (of *ضرب*) is part of the *ك*, the third letter of the mint name. This coin features obverse type IIa1, which is never attested in an

eastern mint (such as Ardanuç).⁶ Beçin no. 34475 features an interesting reverse type that is not otherwise attested.⁷ While the accession date reads 1003 AH, and thus enables us to attribute this coin with certainty to Mehmed III, I would nowadays consider the reading of the mint name as too uncertain for an attribution to Ardanuç. No. 34474, which is attested by a photo that is not perfect, does not appear to have been struck by Mehmed III at all.

Not one of the four coins discussed so far can be accepted as an absolutely reliable issue of the mint Ardanuç under Mehmed III. Yet, this is not the end to it. A coin in Damalı's catalogue bears what looks like the letters د , ن , and ج .⁸ It is a much more plausible candidate for Ardanuç than the three Beçin coins discussed above. The emergence of a new *akçe* (Fig. 1)⁹ finally allows us to answer the question whether or not Ottoman coins were struck in Ardanuç under Mehmed III: they were.



Fig. 1. Silver *akçe* of Mehmed III, Ardanuç mint (0.17 g, 13 mm, 6 h)

As might be expected from Ottoman small silver issues of the late 16th/17th centuries, Fig. 1 does not show the legends on both sides in their entirety. Still, most letters of the mint name are legible, more specifically the latter part, reading دنوج . The last two letters seem to be connected, but still, this is the isolated version of the letter ج . Comparing this to the execution of the mint name on the issues of Süleyman I and Selim II, the mint name can easily be reconstructed to اردنوج . Also, the attribution to Mehmed III is certain, as the obverse definitely reads *Mehmed bin Murad*. Thus, Mehmed III did issue coins in Ardanuç, but in tiny numbers. The two reverses discussed here were struck with different dies. With just three coins originally believed to be part of the Beçin hoard, Ardanuç would only have ranked 37th among the 40 mints under Mehmed III¹⁰ (the total for him in this hoard was 25,582¹¹ coins).¹²

One relevant feature of these Ardanuç issues are their style and typology. The typological combination is Id1/1g, which is attested in great numbers in Canca (modern Gümüşhane) in the period we have defined as “style A”.¹³ Not only the types, but also the additional mark (“Beizeichen”) on the reverse, inscribed into the ب of ضرب on the reverse, is basically specific to this mint.¹⁴ The style, too, is typical of Canca. Many eastern mints under Mehmed III, even if they were not very productive, developed a style of their own, in marked difference to Rumeli and Anadolu,¹⁵ unknown anywhere else. In some cases, however, dies were made in one mint and sent to another. The major mint of Canca, where the silver from the rich local mines was turned into coins, is the best example of this practice in the eastern half of the Ottoman Empire under Mehmed III. The main recipient in the early half of Mehmed III's reign (represented by “style A” in Canca)¹⁶ was Erzurum, as typology, style, and additional marks clearly prove.¹⁷ Both Ardanuç *akçes* of Mehmed III also feature “style A” of Canca. Their weights, too, apparently belong to his earlier reign, when an eastern *akçe* standard of slightly above 0.20 g¹⁸ was employed in Canca. The Damalı *akçe* weighs 0.22 g, our Fig. 1 weighs 0.17 g, while the 0.35 g of Beçin no. 34474 are a further indication that the attribution to Ardanuç under Mehmed III was incorrect. With the introduction of the circular type and “style B” in Canca, the weights were raised to the current standard in Rumeli and Anadolu, viz. 0.32 g (Table 1).¹⁹

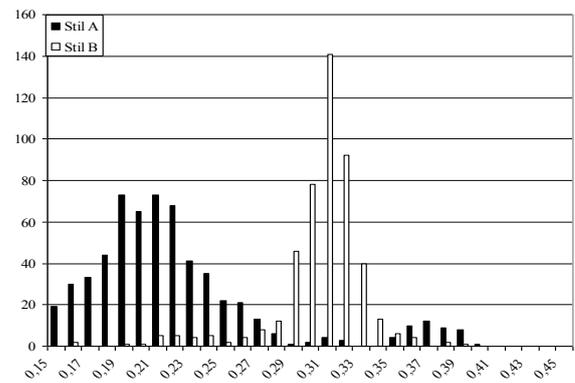


Table 1. *Akçe* weights (in g) under Mehmed III in Canca²⁰

If we analyze the data shown in Table 1 with a focus on chronology, first come those *akçes* of “style A” that retain the old weight standard of Murad III., viz. 0.38 g (the small, isolated group to the right shown here). Since “style A” coins in Canca are actually more common than “style B” *akçes*, the change in weights should probably be dated around the middle of the reign of Mehmed III.²¹ Allowing for a short period when the 0.38 g coins were struck, the timeframe for the “style A” *akçes* in Canca, into which also the Ardanuç issues belong, would therefore be approximately 1595–1599 CE.

We therefore not only know that Ottoman coins were struck in Ardanuç under Mehmed III; due to the evidence of the well-known coinage system of this sultan, we can also put these rare issues in their proper place with regards to typology, style, metrology, organisational background of coin production, and their chronological sequence.

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- Schindel/Pfeiffer-Taş (as note 5), p. 205; for examples of Üsküp *akçes* of Mehmed III vol. 2, pl. 45, no. 26541 f.
- It is, to the best of my knowledge, still unique.
- A. Damalı, *Osmanlı Sikkeleri Tarihi, Cilt 4/History of Ottoman Coins*, p. 1184, no. 13-AT-G1; what looks like a ب certainly in fact is a د , the diacritical point of which is placed inaccurately. For some critical remarks on his general approach N. Schindel, review of A. Damalı, *Osmanlı Sikkeleri Tarihi, Cilt 1/History of Ottoman Coins, Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft* 51/1, 2011, pp. 71–78.
- I have to thank Ertekin Yenisey for providing me with a photo of the coin.
- The question whether some readings of exceedingly rare coins such as e.g. Saray or Kosova are reliable is left aside here, even if in both cases, the answer might be negative.
- Excluding unattributable coins.
- Schindel/Pfeiffer-Taş (as note 5), p. 238, tab. II.116.
- Schindel/Pfeiffer-Taş (as note 5), p. 202, 271.
- It is variant J or K according to Schindel/Pfeiffer-Taş (as note 5), p. 214, tab. II.79.
- E. g. Van or Nahçıvan, Schindel/Pfeiffer-Taş (as note 5), p. 278.
- Schindel/Pfeiffer-Taş (as note 5), p. 276 f.
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18. Schindel/Pfeiffer-Taş (as note 5), pp. 222–236; N. Schindel/Ş. Pfeiffer-Taş, The Beçin Coin Hoard and Ottoman Monetary History in the Late 16th/Early 17th Century, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 56/4, 2013, pp. 653–671; for non-numismatic data on akçe weight standards in the late 16th/17th century Ş. Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge 2000, p. 136, tab. 8.2.
19. Schindel/Pfeiffer-Taş (as note 5), pp. 228–231.
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A SAFAVID COPPER COIN OF YAZD CITY, AT THE TIME OF SHAH ABBAS I

Bernard Millancourt

An interesting copper coin type is represented by a lot of seven coins, brought from Yazd by a French traveler 20 years ago and recently sold in two separate lots. Four of these coins are now with me and the seller provided a good-quality picture of one of the others. Pictures of the remaining two specimens have been kindly obtained from the current owner, but these are hardly legible due to harsh cleaning; nevertheless, they do help in confirming parts of the legend.

This oblong coin type was struck at Yazd in AH 1014 (1605 CE) at the time of Shah Abbas I (AH 996–1038), and appears to be an official royal fulus, not a civic copper struck by a provincial governor as most of the small-change copper coins were in Safavid Persia. In addition to a clear mint name and date, the circular legend indicates a possible official origin, with an unusual formula that appears to be hitherto unrecorded.



Fig. 1. New copper type of Yazd

Average size of the seven specimens: 35 x 21 mm
Weights: 19.08 g–19.51 g (average: 19.26 g)

Obverse



Fig. 2. Close-up of central legend (from Fig. 1)

Central legend within a circle:

ضرب یزد ۱۰۱۴

“struck at Yazd, AH 1014”

Circular marginal legend:

سکه دولت به نام ال پیغمبر زید

sikka-yi daulat ba-nam-i-al-i payghambar zadim

“we struck the state coin in the name of the Prophet’s family”



Fig. 3. Photo collage of obverse legend from 3 specimens

The dies were largely wider than the flans, and three coins showing different parts of the legend have been used to reconstruct the full circular legend (Figs. 3 and 6).

Diameter of the full die:

Inner circle 14 mm

Outer circle 35 mm

Reverse

A monkey facing left (on 3 coins) or right (on 4 coins), climbing on the branch of a tree, with no legend

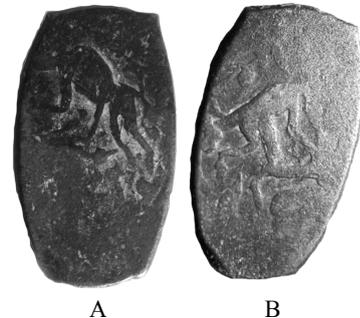


Fig. 4. Monkey on the reverse, facing left (A) or right (B)



Fig. 5. Line drawing of monkey (from Fig. 4B)

Historical background

In Safavid Persia, gold and silver coins were state coins, the Shah's name was printed on them, they were used by merchants and foreigners for trade, and were accepted across the whole country. Copper coins were mainly civic issues for local use, meeting the daily needs of the population. These were struck by governors of the provinces who obtained this privilege from the Shah. As a result, copper coins were only valid in the province where they were struck, until revalued downwards by the issue of a new design or the change of governor.¹

Civic coppers usually have a date and mint stamped on them, with the generic term *fulus*, but do not indicate their face value; the other side usually bears no legend and carries designs inspired by the zodiac or Chinese cycles signs, as well as other fauna patterns (peacock, goat, lion, deer, ape, rabbit, elephant, fish etc.).

The minting privilege was a great source of profit for the governors by the fact that the nominal values of their coins were systematically lower than their metal content. They also periodically recalled their coins, and gave the new issues a lower exchange value, resulting in the former coins usually losing 50% of

their value. People had to carry their copper coins to the governor's mint to obtain new ones, which were easily distinguished from the former by a new design.

Shah Abbas, like some rulers before him, had occasionally struck state coins bearing a formula condemning counterfeiters; these are known as the *be-la'nat* series.²

Conclusion

The present coin type with a mint name, a date and an animal on reverse, possesses the characteristics of a civic copper, but the legend indicates it may have been minted under royal authority and not by a governor. Nevertheless, it would still have been for local use.

If we assume 19.5 g to be the full weight and a mean copper/silver ratio³ of 100 to 1, that leads to a silver equivalent of 0.196 g of silver for this fulus, which could fit with a one tenth *shahi* or 10 dinars, if we refer to Shah Abbas I's second silver standard in use from AH 1005 to 1038.⁴

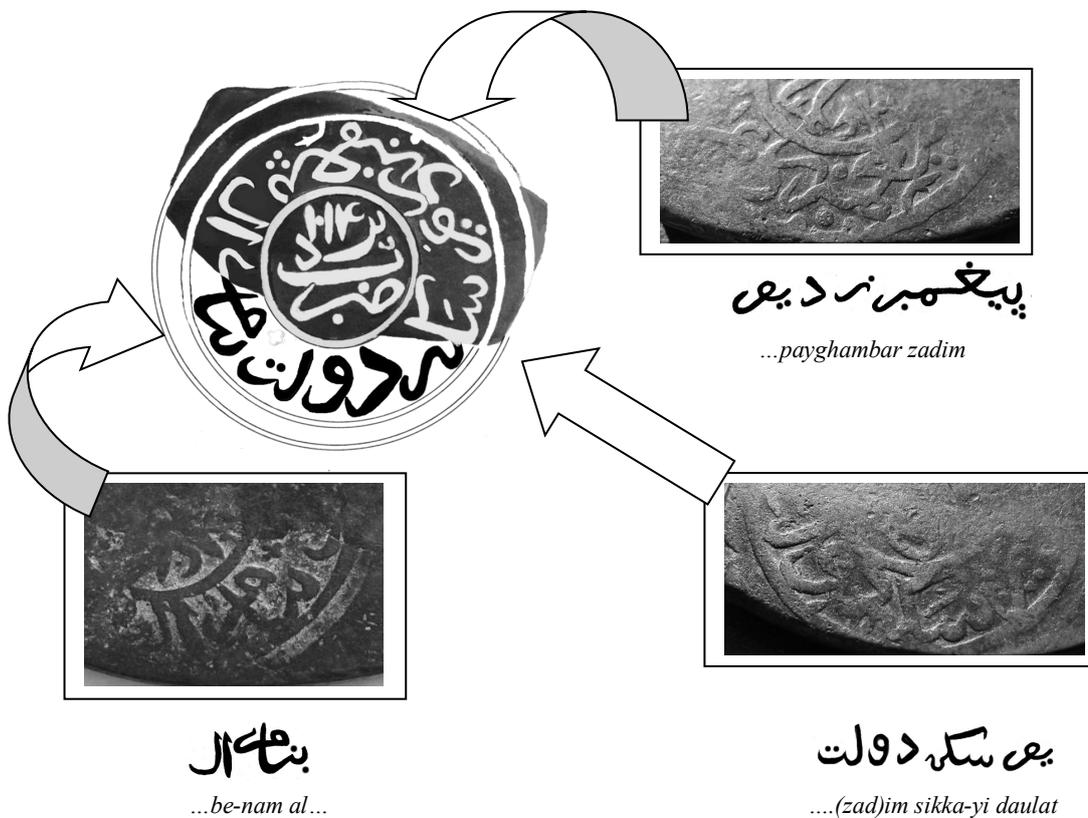


Fig. 6. Complete die reconstruction of obverse

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Lutz Ilisch and Sebastian Hanstein, his successor as head of FINT (Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik Tübingen/ Research Center for Islamic Numismatics Tübingen), for their kind help in translating the legend.

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1. H.L. Rabino de Borgomale, *Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of Iran (1500-1941)*, p. 20. Rabino states: "Though none but the king has the right to coin silver money, the governors of the provinces have a right to coin copper, and this money, which is fixed at a certain value in their province during their term of office there, depreciates to one half of its value when they are displaced, and never goes for any more in the other provinces; so that a piece of copper, which is worth ten pence in the province where the governor with whose stamp it is coined in in power, is worth but five pence in all other provinces of the kingdom, and suffers the same abatement in his own too, the moment he gives place to his successor".

2. Steve Album Checklist. The legend of *be-la'nat* series is: *peyvasteh be-la'nat-e elahi taghayyoordeh-ye folus-e shahi* (may God's curse be forever on him who changes the royal fulus).

3. In the early 17th century the copper/silver ratio for minted metals is estimated to have been 70-75 to 1. In Persia the minted copper was usually 30 to 40% lower than the market metal cost, leading to a copper/silver ratio of approximately 91-105 to 1.

4. R. Mathee, *The Monetary History of Iran*, Table 4.1. In the second silver standard, one *shahi* equalled 1.92 g.

A RARE ZODIAC MOHUR OF KASHMIR, PROPERTY OF THE LATE NICHOLAS RHODES

Barbara Mears

I have had the privilege of working through the collection made by Nicholas Rhodes for several years now, aided to a large extent by the expertise of Stan Goron and Wolfgang Bertsch. Nicholas was very generous in publishing most of his collection and numismatic discoveries in book form, or as papers written for the Oriental Numismatic Society and other journals. It thus came as a surprise to me that I could not find a paper on the most valuable coin in his collection (Fig. 1). Shailendra Bhandare very kindly found a single page notice in the Numismatic Digest published in 1981,¹ but as this is not accessible online, I thought a fuller paper on the subject might be appreciated.



Fig. 1. Zodiac mohur of Jahangir, Kashmir mint

Weight 10.91 g, Diameter 20 mm
Cancer the crab, framed by sun with 47 rays; all within a circular border with beads in the outer margin.

Legend:

بحکم شاه جهانگیر یافت صد زیور
بنلم نور جہلن بلد شاه بیگم زر
بکشمیر ۲۰
ضرب ۱۰۳۴

By order of Shah Jahangir a hundred ornaments gained
Gold by the name of the empress Nur Jahan
Struck in Kashmir, (year) 20, 1034

Provenance and History

The ticket with the coin gave many details in a small space:
Ex. Chicago International Coin Fair Auction, 30.5.80, lot 299, \$1500
J. Schulman 2/66, 1635
Ex. Mr Hatfield
Dr da Cunha
J. Gibbs c.f. JBBRAS 1878

From this the mohur can be traced back to its first appearance in a paper by James Gibbs: *Notes on the Zodiacal Rupees and Mohars of Jehangir Shah*, read at a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in December 1878, and then published in their Journal (no. XXXVI, Vol. XIV, pp. 155-159). The accompanying illustration (plate III, image 4/ III), although poor, clearly identifies it as the Rhodes mohur, although Gibbs had attributed it to Ajmir mint as only the last few letters of the mint name were clear.

R.B. Whitehead describes the coin in his paper *The Portrait Medals and Zodiacal Coins of the Emperor Jahāngīr, part II*.² By then it had been correctly attributed to Kashmir mint by Hodivala.³ Whitehead relates that it was “acquired by Dr. da Cunha and sold to a Mr. Hatfield for £4...”

The Da Cunha Sale was held at Sotheby in London, in 1889.⁴ An inspection of the (unillustrated) catalogue reveals the Rhodes Kashmir mohur listed as lot 615. Dr Gerson da Cunha of Bombay had acquired this coin, together with a full set of Zodiac Mohurs,

from the collection formed by James Gibbs. History does not record who the lucky Mr Hatfield was, and the trail goes cold for almost 80 years.

The mohur next appears, with illustration, as lot 1635 in the Schulman sale held in Amsterdam, 15-17th February, 1966, where it sold for 1250 Dutch Guilders. Unfortunately, the provenance given for this lot – “*Ex Glendining Sale, May 1962, lot 755*” – is not correct. When checked, lot 755 was a Mohur of Taurus of different date that had come from the Morton Collection, Glendining, 1951, which did not contain a Zodiac Mohur of Cancer.

Nevertheless, the coin has an impressive provenance extending back over 140 years. Before this it must have circulated or been used in transactions of some kind, as can be seen from the *schroff* marks evident on both flans.

The Rhodes mohur was struck during a long visit to Kashmir that Jahangir made with Nur Jahan towards the end of his life. During a previous stay, he had commissioned silver Zodiac rupees with the sign Gemini, dated regnal year 15, AH1029. Whitehead recorded only three examples of these: one in the Indian Museum (catalogue III, 1908, p.12), another in the White King Sale (Amsterdam, 1905, part III, lot 3692), and a third belonged to the Pandit Ratan Narain Collection, then in the ANA, New York. All three specimens were too poor to reproduce.⁵

However, in 2014 a fourth Kashmir rupee of far better quality came to light in a Spink auction (Fig. 2). This was part of a large collection, including other Zodiac rupees, that had been in storage since the 1980s.⁶ This, and the other Gemini Zodiac rupees, have a normal couplet naming Jahangir and his father Akbar, as described below.



Fig. 2. Zodiac rupee of Jahangir, Kashmir mint

Weight 11.28 g, Diameter 19.5 mm

Legend:

جہان فیروز گشت بکشمیر سکہ زر
ز نور نلم جہانگیر شاه شاه اکبر

Money coined in Kashmir became world-conquering
By the light of the name of Jahangir Shah (son of) Shah Akbar
Date not visible

These Rupees are the only other Zodiac issues of Kashmir. Their existence demonstrates that Jahangir used the local mint to strike these coins, perhaps for special ceremonies or presentations,

The gold Zodiac mohur of Tīr (Cancer the Crab), of regnal year 20, dated AH1034 (1624 CE), is the only known Zodiac mohur of Kashmir mint, which is why it is so important. It also bears a very particular couplet, naming Nur Jahan and giving her the status of *bādshāh begum* (Empress: first lady).

Whitehead's paper gives full details of all the mints used by Jahangir for striking Zodiac coins, together with information on where the key coins were housed and their relative rarity. Nevertheless, a few points might bear repetition and highlighting.

Jahangir's own diaries, the *Tūzuk-i Jahāngīri*, detail the birth of the concept of Zodiac coins in an entry made when the emperor's camp was near Ahmadabad, in Gujarat, on the 23rd day of the Ilāhī month Farwardīn in the 13th year of his reign. Zodiac rupees of Ahmadabad were indeed struck for this year during the month of Farwardīn, with the image of the Ram, and also for each month of Jahangir's sojourn in the town.

The issue of Zodiac coins continued throughout Jahangir's reign, although fewer were struck in his later years. Dates on most of the

Zodiac coins struck at the rarer mints such as Kashmir and Lahore coincide with a time that the Emperor was visiting the town in question. However, this was not the case at the capital, Agra, where coins exist dated for many months when Jahangir's diaries record he was travelling elsewhere.

There is no doubt that Kashmir was one of Jahangir's favourite places. Charmed by its coolness and natural beauty, he made a courtly escape to its mountain valleys as often as possible during the hot season, always in the company of his favourite wife, Nur Jahan. He was a man of great taste and cultivation, under whose watchful eye Mughal art reached its apogee. He also enjoyed designing gardens, commissioning no less than four in the Kashmir valley. Renowned more for his love of opium and wine than his military or organisational skills, perhaps his genius was to favour a wife whose talents compensated for those he lacked, and the wisdom to allow her to use them.

The charm and intelligence of Nur Jahan are apocryphal, and there is little doubt she exerted unusual influence over Jahangir. The legend of how she persuaded him to make her ruler for one day, during which time she seized the opportunity to strike coins in her own name, is recounted by Whitehead in great detail, together with the arguments debunking this as a historical reality. However, she certainly signed some imperial orders latterly, during Jahangir's periods of ill health, and many numismatists will be familiar with the series of coins that feature her name. The couplet on the Rhodes Zodiac Mohur clearly states that the coin was issued by the order of Jahangir, but names Nur Jahan as '*begum bādshāh*' (first lady or empress); the 'gold' among many ornaments.

Is this evidence that Nur Jahan shared Jahangir's authority as ruler as he grew weaker? If so the Capricorn Rupees of Lahore mint dated AH1036, regnal year 21, further support this. Whitehead⁷ records two of these coins, one in the Guthrie Collection in Berlin, the second in the Patna Museum, both with a legend that dispenses with the qualifier '*begum*' and refers to her only as '*bādshāh*.'

Naturally, the sentiment behind these couplets was not popular with Jahangir's successor, Shah Jahan. When known as Prince Khurram, Jahangir's second son had formed an alliance with Nur Jahan through marriage to her niece. However, in 1620 Nur Jahan promoted a different heir, by marrying her daughter to Jahangir's youngest son, Shahryar, and the relationship soured. Shah Jahan was eventually pronounced emperor on February 14th 1628, and only three days after he entered Agra in triumph the Factor there sent a letter to the President and Council at Surat, stating, "*All rupees of Noor Jehann Beagam's stampe are called in and not to be uttered.*"⁸

Shah Jahan did not continue to mint Zodiac coins and so a series holding great interest for many numismatists came to an end. Original Zodiac coins are very hard to find, and their limited supply and popularity ensured many copies and restrikes were commissioned through the years. The unerring judgement of Nicholas Rhodes served him well when he chose this unique coin to be the one example of the Zodiac series in his collection.

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8. Whitehead (ibid), p. 101.

A NEW ROHILLA MINT IN COPPER: AFZALABAD

Abhishek Chatterjee

On a hot summer afternoon in April I visited veteran numismatist Arvind Chandra to discuss our favourite topics on numismatics. It was then that he showed me the coin I will discuss in this article. The coin is 18.2 g in weight and is typically Rohilla in character, following the copper coins of Najibabad-Saharanpur style. The weight is also similar to copper coins from other Rohilla mints. On much brainstorming, it occurred to me that the coin is from a rare Rohilla mint: Afzalabad.¹ This mint is known from only 2-3 specimens of silver rupees, with no copper coins reported till now.



Fig. 1. Rohilla copper paisa, Afzalabad mint

Obverse:

Falus Alam shahi 1187

(Copper falus of Shah Alam, dated AH 1187)

Reverse:

zarb Afzalabad sanah 15

(Minted at Afzalabad in regnal year 15)



Fig. 2. Persian legends highlighted on Fig. 1

The mint name on the copper coin is similar to that seen on the silver rupee (Fig. 3) and has the same date (AH 1187/ RY 15).



Fig. 3. Rohilla silver rupee
(Oswal Antiques, Auction 37, Lot 113)

Location of mint

The mint town of these coins is the present-day town of Afzalgarh in Bijnor district of Uttar Pradesh. The coordinates are 29.393°N 78.674°E. It is located on the border with the state of Uttarakhand.



Fig. 4. Map showing the location of Afzalgarh in modern-day state of Uttar Pradesh

Historical context

The town was founded by Afzal Khan in the middle of the 18th century. He built a fort there which was dismantled after the 1857 Revolt.² Nothing much is known about Afzal Khan, except that he was a brother of the more famous Najib Khan Rohilla (Mir Bakshi to the Mughal Emperor and de facto ruler of Delhi after the 3rd battle of Panipat).³ Afzal Khan was involved in the campaign against the Jats and the subsequent death of Jat Raja Surajmal.⁴ He seems to have outlived Najib Khan Rohilla and also participated in First Awadh-Rohilla war in 1774.

To understand the context in which this coin was minted, it is pertinent to understand the First Awadh-Rohilla war. Due to the imminent threat from the resurgent Marathas, a treaty was signed in June 1772 between the Rohillas and Shuja ud-daula (Nawab of Awadh) in the presence of the British, in which the Nawab promised help against the Marathas, while the Rohillas undertook to pay 40 lakh rupees for this assistance. In 1773 the Marathas entered Rohilkhand and raided the whole countryside. In response, to honour the treaty obligations, Awadh troops, with the help of British troops, drove out the Marathas across the river Ganga at Ramghat.

However, the Rohillas failed to pay the dues promised to the Nawab of Awadh in the treaty. The Nawab of Awadh decided to punish the Rohillas and invaded Rohilkhand along with British troops. They met between Miranpur Katra in Shahjahanpur and Fatehganj East (in Bareilly district) in April 1774, and the Rohillas were defeated.⁵

This coin is dated AH 1187/ RY 15, and corresponds to the period from June 30th 1773 to March 14th 1774. Hence it is clear that the coin was minted just before the First Rohilla-Awadh war in April 1774, probably to meet war expenses or for the payment of troops. The short period of minting is also the reason why coins of this mint are rare.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Jan Lingen and Amit Mehta for reviewing this article.

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COINS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY PRESIDENCY SERIES: ADDENDUM & ERRATA

Bob Johnston

One of the things that makes collecting the East India Presidency coins interesting is that so many things remain to be discovered. Much has been learned since the publication of Pridmore's excellent 1975 work. While compiling the information for the *Coins of the English East India Company Presidency Series*, it seemed that virtually every month new discoveries were made. If one was to wait until all the discoveries were in, an update would never be possible. With that in mind the Presidency Series book was published in 2017 even though revisions were being made and new material was being discovered right up to the publication date.

Below are corrections of errors that are known to be in the book and a few of the new discoveries. It is hoped that the work will continue online with continued revisions and additions being made. If anyone has unlisted coins or notices other errors in the book, please send them to Paul Stevens at pjes3288@hotmail.com, so they may be included in future online updates.

Bengal Presidency

Pg 33 Listing 3.9 photos show two obverses.

Pg 39 Pr 62 Calcutta Mohur Type photo is St 5.2 Murshidabad. It should not have a dot in the center dot group on obverse.

Pg 58 Add listing 5.4a 1202 Dot in center circle. on obverse. Wide border as on St 4.9. Ref: Weir.

Pg 126 Change listing number next to Shah Alam II Pice obverse photo to 8.2c.

Add actual weight 7.10-8.86g.

Agra Akbar II Pice Add listing 8.2g AH1221 RY1 Ref: BM.

Pg 149 Listing 8.95 Change note to "Nazarana double rupee (22.15 g, 37 mm) Only two known."

Pg 158 Add listing 8.123c AH1220 RY47 Ref: Oswal 69 (2017), Lot 69.

Pg 177 Change label of photo on bottom of page to "Copper rupee forgery or unlisted pice (27.2 mm, 14.01 g, plain edge)".

Bombay Presidency

Pg 203-204 Listing 1.39 Pr 83 Add "No I in REGMS" to the comments.

Pg 208 Listing 1.57 Add comment "hGEIM".

Pg 218 Add listing 2.3a AH1130 RY6 mark 3 Ref: Marudhar Arts Auction 23, Lot 411.

Pg 231 The obverse photo is upside down.

Pg 247 In the note under the type photo change "mohur" to "rupee".

Pg 315 Listing 7.24 Change first ? to 1b and second ? to 1Ib.

Pg 329 Listing 7.52 Change comment to "Ref: KM 150 photo. Wt. unknown."

Madras Presidency

Pg 362 Add listing 1.81c 1746 Rev I Ref: Weir Date not clear.

Pg 364 Cash Change catalog number above the type photo to 1.98.

Pg 367 Listing 1.106 Change 6187 to (16)78 and add comment "Obverse retrograde."

Listing 1.108 1697 Cash Add Obv C Rev II.

Pg 369 Add listing 1.126a AD1739 Obv B.

Pg 378 Add listing 2.43c AH115x RY26.

Pg 387 Two Pagodas

Listing 3.1 Change No to Yes under reverse stop column.

Listing 3.25 Change G to O in Gopurum column.

Pg 395 1807 Half Pagoda

Listing 3.38 Under crosses change ?/14 to 15/14. Add "Ref: BM".

Listing 3.39 Remove note "Bead count not verified."

Listing 3.43 Change reverse V to IV and 16/13 to 16/14.

Pg 398 Reverse I Change top left cross ? to 15.

Delete reverse V.

Pg 401 1807 Quarter Pagoda

In the Obverse Varieties tables change Obverse A to C, B to D, C to E, D to B and E to A.

In the far right obverse description (previous obverse E) under 13+1+13 change Inward to Outward and AGOD to AGO.

The descriptions in the listings are correct.

Pg 408 1807 Double Fanam

Listing 3.79 E VI Change Yes to No under reverse circle and change Comments to "Reverse stops are large diamonds."

Pg 412 1807 Fanam

Listing 3.87 Change to Rev I; delete BANAM; Stops 1+1; Device Star; Ref: Johnston.

Delete Listing 3.91.

Obverse A Change BANAM to OK.

Pg 414 Delete reverse V.

Pg 416-419 1808 Half Pagoda

Listing 3.101 B/XII Add 16/14 to reverse description.

Listing 3.142 Change reverse VII to IX, reverse beads below to 2, Tails to 4.

Pg 428-431 1808 Quarter Pagoda

Listing 3.166 Change to: Rev IX; Change 13/11 to 12/11 and reverse stop to No.

Listing 3.177 G/IX Change 13/11 to 12/11.

Listing 3.185 L/XI Change 11/11 to 11/10.

Listing 3.206 R/XIII Change 11/9 to 9/11.

Listing 3.210 Change reverse VI to VIII.

Pg 435 Reverse IX Change Top left Cross 13 to 12.

Pg 439 1808 Five Fanams

Listing 3.218 Change "No" to "Yes" under Tongue.

Page 444-445 1808 Two Fanams

Listing 3.249 Under Marks change ? to U + M.

Listing 3.261 Change "Yes" to "No" under Stop.

Add listing 3.262c: Obv T1; Rev I; Buckle Long Oval; Legend SANAM; Marks U+M; Stop No; Shading Yes; Tamil Inward.

Listing 3.263 Change Outward to Inward.

Listing 3.265 Change "No" to "Yes" under stop.

Listing 3.266 Change U to U+M.

Listing 3.267 Change ? to I under Rev and ? to Inward under Reverse.

Pg 446 Obverse H Change "Not clear" to "U + M".

Pg 447 Obverse T Change "Yes" to "No" under Stop.

Add new obverse T1: Buckle Long Oval; Spelling SANAM; Marks U+M; Stop No; Shading Yes.

Obverse V Change No to Yes under stop.

Pg 465 2 1/2 Cash

Add listing 3.336c: Obv A; Axis ↑↓; Wt "; Diam 19.6-20.0.

Change listing 3.337 to: Obv A; Axis ↑↑; Wt 2.32; Diam 20.5.

Pg 473 In the photos of the pattern two annas, below the reverse variety table, the left photo is upside down. Change 3.357 to 3.354 in the pattern photo label.

Pg 509 Add listing 5.24c AH1180 RY1x Ref: Chopra.

Pg 510 Listing 5.54 Change 1212 to 1214 in the AH column.

Pg 511 Add listing 5.58c AH1179 RY11 Ref: Album List 57.

Pg 512 Listing 5.72 AH1214 Add RY 40.

Add listing 5.74c AH1221 RY47 Ref: Johnston.

Add listing 5.77g AH1200 Ref: BM.

Pg 517 Change four pice actual weight to 8.18-8.62 g.

Pg 547 Listing 5.173 Under Edge change "2?" to "1".

Obverse C Remove ? after Side.

Pg 550 Delete listing 5.191.

Acknowledgement

This list has been endorsed by the book's author, Paul Stevens.

COINS STRUCK AT MONGHYR BY THE EAST INDIA COMPANY?

Paul Stevens

In 1761 the Nawab of Bengal, Mir Kasim Ali Khan, moved his capital from Murshīdābād to Monghyr. He built himself a palace, reorganised his army along European lines, and ran the administration of Bengal from there in a way that appears to have been approved of by his subjects. However, he soon fell out with the East India Company officials at Calcutta, who had begun abusing their ability to avoid paying taxes, and they resented the fact that the Nawab took steps to try to stop the practice. A British army was sent to Monghyr and captured the fort in October 1763.¹ Henceforth, the town became part of British India, and for many years continued to contain an arsenal but no regular garrison.

Monghyr was noted for its fine situation and pure air, and gained a reputation as a health resort with, *inter alia*, Warren Hastings leaving his wife there when she was ill. In the nineteenth century it was used as an invalid station for soldiers and even contained a lunatic asylum for sepoys.²

There has been some debate about whether or not the East India Company issued coins from the Monghyr mint after it captured the fort. Extremely rare mohurs and rupees exist dated AH 1176/ RY 4 with the mint name Monghyr, and no later coins are known from this mint.³ The Hijri year 1176 finished on the 11th July 1763, before the British captured the place. These coins would, therefore, have been issued by the Nawab from his mint at Monghyr. Only coins dated AH 1177 or later would have been issued by the British and none of these was known up until now. The records held in the British Library have not yielded any evidence of the British issuing coins from Monghyr, but at least one entry suggests that the mint was still open at the start of November 1763, although it could be referring to coins issued earlier. The letter is dated 1st November 1763, when the Calcutta mint master wrote:⁴

... the strictest care has been ever had to keep the Calcutta rupee up to the same weight and fineness as what are coined at Moorshedabad and Mongheer...

and, in 1775, Monghyr rupees were still available in the bazaar:⁵

... You will please further to inform the Board that the sicca rupees which are seen in the weekly state of the Treasury are Mongheer siccas...

Recently, a friend sent a photo of a newly discovered coin of the Monghyr mint bearing the date AH 1177.⁶



Fig. 1. Rupee of Monghyr dated AH 1177/ RY 4
Weight 11.59 g; Diameter approx. 22 mm

Whilst it is possible that this coin was struck during the period from late July to early October 1763, it could have been struck after that date (RY 4 ended on 17th October), and may therefore be the first known coin issued from this mint whilst under the authority of the East India Company. This coin, therefore, raises the possibility that the mint continued in operation after it had been captured by the British, although it requires a coin showing RY 5 to make it certain.

References

1. Bengal Public Consultations. IOR P/1/36, 17th October 1763, pp. 314/315. Letter from Major Adams to the President at Calcutta, dated 11th October 1763.
2. O'Malley LSS, (1909), *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Monghyr.
3. Stevens PJE, *The Coins of the Bengal Presidency* (2012), Baldwin & Sons Ltd.
4. Bengal Public Consultations. IOR P/1/36, p. 389. 21st November 1763. Letter from Anselm Beaumont (mint master) to Bengal Council, dated 21st November 1763.
5. Bengal Consultations. IOL P/2/10, 15th June 1775, p. 282. Letter from the Sub-Treasurer.
6. My sincere thanks to Noman Nasir, who sent me the photo and information about the coin.

A NEW OBVERSE IN THE 1862 RUPEE

Amit Surana

In the British India (BI) coinage series, the 1862 rupee is very popular among collectors, given its enormous mintage and the variations that it presents.

It is significant to note that the East India Company (EIC), once it had secured a foothold to carry out trade and mint coins in the subcontinent, had attempted to issue coins in the name of its sovereign as early as the reigns of James II, Charles II, or the joint sovereigns, William and Mary. That these attempts were thwarted is another story, but in 1835 the EIC brought in the uniform coinage with the bust of the British monarch on the coins. As an outcome of the 1857 Revolt, India became a 'crown colony' and a possession in the name of Queen Victoria from 1st November, 1859.

The first Crown coinage was issued in 1862 and the date was 'frozen' on the coins in subsequent years. The obverse design showed the crowned bust of Victoria in an ornate dress of floral pattern and had a legend reading *VICTORIA QUEEN*. This general design continued till the end of the reign of Queen Victoria. The celebrated 1862 Rupee was minted prolifically from the three mints at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras (as the present cities of Kolkata, Mumbai and Chennai respectively were known then).

Several authors have discussed the designs of the 1862 rupees used for currency issues. Prominent amongst them is Eric Wodak, curator of the National Gallery of Victoria, Australia (*The South Australian Numismatic Journal*, Vol. 8, no. 2, April 1957). He

classified the Queen's effigy on the rupee as Bust A and B, and this nomenclature still continues to be used.

Following this, George Falcke and Robert Clarke (*vide* their classic monograph *India's 1862 Rupees*) added one more obverse, denoted as Bust C. Major Fred Pridmore, the doyen of BI coinage, through his monumental work, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations - Part 4 India - Vol. 2 Uniform Coinage*, summed up the 1862 rupee issues by adding one more obverse design, *viz.* the design popularly called '5-panel design', which first made an appearance on patterns dated 1863. Recent contributions to the field have not added to these basic designs, except for mint variations.

The author came across an entirely new bust design in May 2011 and has since physically seen about 6 specimens of this design. These have been reported from different parts of the country. It is pertinent to point out here that many senior numismatists and collectors have derided the new obverse as fake. Some even went to the extent of questioning why no such obverse has been reported in the past so many years. Eventually the author had to himself acquire such a specimen from an auction (Todywala Auction 114, Lot 415). The purpose of this article is to establish the authenticity of the new design, which the author has chosen to designate as 'CJL'.

Firstly, it is pertinent to describe in detail each of the obverse designs used for the currency issues and how they have been derived.

Journey of the 1862 Rupee

On 30th June 1859, the Treasury in London authorised the master of the Royal Mint to prepare matrices and punches for the new Indian coinage. L. C. Wyon engraved the dies, and the initial patterns for the rupee were prepared in, and dated, 1860. Wyon's dies for the new coinage were dispatched to India in August 1861.

1. Wyon's 1861 Rupee Pattern



Fig. 1. Wyon's 1861 Rupee Pattern

This bears the letters 'L. C. Wyon' engraved on the truncation of the bust of the Queen (Fig. 1). The bust is slightly larger and taller. The front panel *i.e.* jabot of the queen's robe, has 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ sections. The first and second strings in the necklace have nineteen and eight pearls respectively. There is no symbol 'v' with a dot in the bottom left corner at the right of the jabot.

However, upon arrival Wyon's dies were found to be technically inadequate for use in the Indian mints, and new matrices had to be produced in Calcutta. According to a report dated 29th January 1863 by Captain H. Hyde, mint master of Calcutta mint, the locally made matrices, made to commence the new coinage in 1862, also proved unsatisfactory. The report mentions that, two other sets were put in hand, by two separate engravers, with a view to substitute these for the ones first made. Hyde mentions that a German engraver was making the second set.

2. Obverse B

This design (Fig. 2) is very similar to Wyon's patterns, struck with dates 1860 and 1861, but the bust from the neck down is slightly smaller, being shorter and cut-off at the bottom. The jabot is divided into 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ sections, and there are three horizontal dividing lines below the lowest loop of pearls of the necklace. The fourth or lowest complete rectangular section has a four-petalled flower on the right. The ornamental border has 141 beads. At the right of the jabot there

is a small symbol resembling a 'v' with an inserted bead or dot. This symbol does not seem to be part of the design, which consists of floral-like scrolls. It is not part of the Wyon patterns, which have almost identical scroll designs. Falcke & Clarke suggest that this symbol is a mark of the Calcutta die centre because it does not seem to be the mark of an individual engraver and certainly is not a mint mark.



Fig. 2. Obverse B

There is little doubt that obverse B was engraved first, and was the work of Kashinath Das, who was the head engraver at the Calcutta mint from 1834 to 1863. He obviously modelled it on Wyon's designs, seeking inspiration in the Royal Mint punches. He cut a new matrix to suit the requirements of machines employed in the Indian mints. He might have also introduced the symbol 'v' with a dot inside as a mark of the Calcutta die centre.

3. Obverse A

Although this design (Fig. 3) follows, in general, that used in Obverse B, the detail is quite different, particularly the jabot and the scroll design on the robe. The head is a little smaller and the letters of the legend are also smaller, more narrowly spaced and of a slightly different type than on Obverse B. The jabot is divided into $3\frac{3}{4}$ sections and there are only two dividing lines below the lowest loop of pearls of the necklace. In the lowest section, which is incomplete, there is a five-petal flower in the left corner. The ornamental border has 124 beads. At the bottom, in about the centre of the bust, there is a small mark shaped like a thin 'v'. There is little doubt that this 'v' is a die mark of the Calcutta mint, because the symbol appears on other denominations dated 1862, as well as the coins of the later series dated 1874-1901.



Fig. 3. Obverse A

The head engraver of the Calcutta mint, Kashinath Das, had been assisted by a German engraver by the name of Johannes Lutz (he was actually Swiss, but referred to as "German" by the language he spoke) since September 1859. Lutz took over as head engraver in 1863 on the retirement of Kashinath Das and continued to be head engraver at the Calcutta mint until February 1884. Hyde, in his report, states that the set engraved by Lutz was "by far the best" (Pridmore mentions this in his catalogue on Page 112). According to Pridmore, Lutz used the original punches and partially engraved a new matrix. As stated by Falcke and Clarke, Obverse A is considered as the distinctive design of the Calcutta mint. It is clear that Obverse A was the work of Lutz as he had taken over as the head engraver.

Another reason that the obverse is attributed to Lutz, is the small mark that resembles a thin 'J' in the bottom right corner of the bust. This scroll shows at the right a very short and indistinct horizontal stroke. The dated rupees, from 1877 onwards, have in the same

position a longer and thicker stroke, and on the scroll itself there is a distinct thick vertical stroke that looks very much like an 'L'. Both markings possibly are the initials 'JL' for Johannes Lutz, as conjectured by Falcke & Clarke. It is relevant to mention here that the British Museum specimen of the 1862 pattern rupee carrying Obverse A shows clearly both the 'v' at the bottom centre and the 'J' in the right corner.

Interestingly, Pridmore ignored Falcke and Clarke's attribution of the initial 'J' on Obverse A to Lutz, on the basis that this 'J' looked like the 'crescent' that was the Calcutta mint mark found on earlier EIC issues. However, Pridmore also noted that the Bombay dot rupees do occur with the 'crescent' and he mentions that it was introduced in Bombay sometime after 1864. This means that the 'J' is unlikely to have been the Calcutta mint mark and adds weight to the idea that it stands for Johannes.

4. Obverse C

This design (Fig. 4) is a modification of Obverse A, on which there are only $3\frac{1}{2}$ sections in the jabot. The bust therefore is shorter and appears to be cut off at the bottom. The whole design is somewhat heavier and the letters of the legend are thicker. Border beads, which number 124, are slightly larger and longer. This obverse was used in the 1862 series only at the Bombay mint, and that too at the end of the dot-dated series, i.e. around 1874.



Fig. 4. Obverse C

5. 1863 proof/ pattern rupee

Since the very beginning of the production of these new coins, the mints were beset with problems using the dies. In particular, they had problems with the relief, which being 'heavy' often led to heavy wear on the dies and they succumbed relatively early to machine forces. As dies are expensive tools this added considerably to the cost of manufacturing the coins and also slowed down the production.

The mint officials in India complained to the Royal Mint about this problem. In response, new dies, punches and matrices were prepared in the Royal Mint and sent to India in August 1863. Examination of a Royal Mint proof/ pattern rupee dated 1863 (Fig. 5) shows the engraving of the Queen's effigy in slightly lower relief and small differences in the outlines of the crown. Other equally minute differences occur in the decoration of the robe. $4\frac{1}{4}$ panels in the jabot, with distinctive double lines to the curves of the crown, are the distinctive features of this revised die.



Fig. 5. 1863 proof/ pattern rupee

6. Obverse D

In India, neither Calcutta nor Madras appear to have made use of this 1863 Royal mint revised matrix, but Bombay certainly carried out experiments with theirs and produced currency rupees, which were dated 1862 as a matter of practice. These are popularly called 5-panel coins (Fig. 6). This particular obverse was not given any nomenclature by Pridmore. He just mentioned that it was similar to Wyon's revised 1863 die and that the Bombay mint undertook an experimental coinage with this die. Pridmore adds that this particular obverse was not used for the 'dot' dating type coinage. The author has recently seen images of a three-dot reverse with Obverse D, but has not verified the coin physically.



Fig. 6. Obverse D

The precursor of the new obverse

The new rupee dies of 1863 were equally unsuitable when tried out in India. Lt. Colonel J. A. Ballard, mint master of Bombay mint, reported a list of technical difficulties with these dies. In 1867 Lt. Colonel H. Hyde, mint master of Calcutta, visited the Royal Mint in May of that year and the subject of a revision of the dies for Indian coinage was discussed. A number of points were mentioned, but the principal one was the engraving of dies in high relief resulting in excessive wear and tear, because of the lack of protection by the rim or margin. With dies of this type, the operation of stamping resulted in the expenditure of more power and time, incompatible with rapid and economical coinage.

Hyde estimated that a re-modelling would give an increase of 15 per cent in the number of coins struck without an increase in power or expense, and at least a 30 per cent saving in expenditure on dies. Probably, these arguments were accepted, because a letter dated 9th December, 1867 refers to a new die for the Indian rupee by L. C. Wyon, and the items were dispatched on 12th March, 1868. Pridmore mentions further that no currency issue has been traced which confirms that Wyon's 1867 revised design was brought into use in India.

7. 1867 proof/ pattern rupee

This follows, in general, the previous designs, but is quite different in the details (Fig. 7). The two jewels in front and at the back of the crown are larger and the front *fleur de lis* is closer to the crown arch, which has at left and right 13 pearls. The hair plait commences at the point where crown rests on forehead. The crown band directly above the hair is plain. The floral design of the jabot is rather indistinct and the scroll-like design of the dress, in an incuse field, is much thicker and broader. The Royal Mint proof comes in two types, one with *L.C.W.* incuse on the truncation of the shoulder and second without these initials. In the Calcutta mint proof, no initials occur under the bust.

Apparently, none of the currency issue of this revised die of 1867 has been traced, but the author is convinced that the 'CJL' issue is the missing currency issue following from the 1867 pattern.



Fig. 7. 1867 proof/ pattern rupee

It is also seen that after the 1867 pattern rupee design, no further demand was made upon the London establishment for designs or dies for silver or copper coinage due to the evident unsuitability of the Royal Mint engravers' work for direct die production. The Calcutta mint die department was able to meet the future requirements from its own resources. But before this, between 1868 and 1870, the Calcutta mint did make efforts under their head engraver to produce a pure Calcutta rupee die. This die may well have been the 'CJL' die. The reasoning for the author's conviction is as follows:

8. New obverse 'CJL'

The obverse is similar to the 1867 pattern/ proof rupee and re-designed and re-engraved at the Calcutta mint, struck sometime between 12th March, 1868 and 1870. These were struck only at the Calcutta mint, probably as an experiment for currency rupees. The obverse has a crowned and robed mature-looking bust of Queen Victoria, giving a good representation of how she looked, the hair plait commences at the point where the crown rests on her forehead; the lower band or circlet of the rim of the crown is plain and the embroidery of the bodice is thick and bold, the central jewel of the crown is plain and not surrounded by beads like the proof/ pattern issue of 1867, with initials 'C' & 'JL' arranged prominently in a triangular pattern at the base in the centre of the jabot.

It is the contention of this author that the initials 'C' stand for Calcutta and 'JL' denote the engraver, Johannes Lutz. Given the fact that the newly discovered obverse has its roots in the 1867 proof, it can safely be concluded that the head engraver at the Calcutta mint, Lutz, tried his hand at re-designing an obverse and adorning both his mint's and his own name on the coin. The coins with this 'CJL' obverse are so scarce that it implies that the die was again not found to be suitable and hence discontinued.



Fig. 8. New obverse 'CJL'

The use of the initials 'JL' by Lutz is described above for Obverse A of the same 1862 rupee, as pointed out by Falcke & Clarke.

Additional evidence

The author has traced a Calcutta mint medal minted for commemorating the Jubbulpore exhibition. This is a silver medal, dated 1866, having the young bust of Queen Victoria with initials 'W. Wyon'. The reverse has initials 'R. A. ST. DES.' & 'J. L. SC.'.



Fig. 9. 1866 medal with 'J. L. SC.' on reverse

Puddester, in his masterpiece *Medals of British India*, Vol. 1 (866.2), mentions that W. Wyon designed the obverse and Thomas Stokes designed the reverse. Puddester fails to identify the meaning of the signature 'J. L.'. The letters 'DES:' following Stokes' name denotes that he is the designer of the reverse portion of the medal and the letters 'SC:' following initials 'J. L.' denote that 'J. L.' is the engraver. Now, it can be safely deduced that, since J. Lutz was the head engraver at the Calcutta mint during the time the medal was struck there, the initials 'J. L.' on the Jubbulpore medal are those of J. Lutz. This supports the belief that J. Lutz used his initials as 'J. L.' for signing off his works.

It is significant to point out here that after the Crown took over from the EIC, a new gold coinage was introduced and accordingly, mohurs with the date 1862 were struck. Later, following the Indian Coinage Act 1870, it was decided to introduce other denominations in gold, namely two-third and one-third mohur pieces i.e. ten rupees and five rupees respectively. The bust of the Queen on the Royal Mint proof ten and five rupee coins was designed by L. C. Wyon and these coins bear the date 1870. Coins with the same obverse and date were also struck as currency issues.

Significantly, a proof issue of the same denominations, but with a different bust and bearing the dates 1870 and 1875, was struck at the Calcutta mint. Since Lutz was the head designer, it is clear that he re-designed the ten and five rupee proof gold coins dated 1870 and 1875 by re-engraving L. C. Wyon's dies. These were struck at the Calcutta mint (Fig. 10) and had the initials 'C.M.' incuse on the ten rupees and in relief in five rupees in the centre of the line of truncation. In addition, the initial 'J' can be seen in the bust used for five rupees exactly in the same place where it occurs for Obverse A in the 1862 rupee, i.e. at the bottom right corner of the bust. Hence, it is clear that the re-engraved bust used for ten and five rupee gold coins was made by Lutz and the initials 'C.M.' in all probability denote Calcutta Mint. Pridmore has already mentioned that "C.M. = Calcutta Mint" and the proof coins were "apparently intended to replace the Royal Mint design".



Fig. 10. Ten rupees (A) and five rupees (B) in gold

The most noteworthy aspect of these ten and five rupees bust designs is the fact that they are similar to the 1867 proof rupee in design. The hair plait commences at the point where crown rests on forehead. The crown band, directly above the hair, is plain, and this clearly shows that the design is derived from the 1867 proof rupee.

The design of the gold coins' bust is similar to the 'CJL' rupee. The five rupee gold coin also has 3½ dress panels, like the 'CJL' rupee. The 5 petal-flowers in the jabot are located in almost identical locations to the 'CJL' rupee. This strongly supports the view that the 'CJL' rupee is a product of British Indian coinage, tracing its lineage to the 1867 rupee, and the re-designing and re-engraving that the bust underwent was done at the Calcutta mint under the then head engraver Johannes Lutz. Hence the letters 'CJL' were engraved to represent 'Calcutta, Johannes Lutz'.

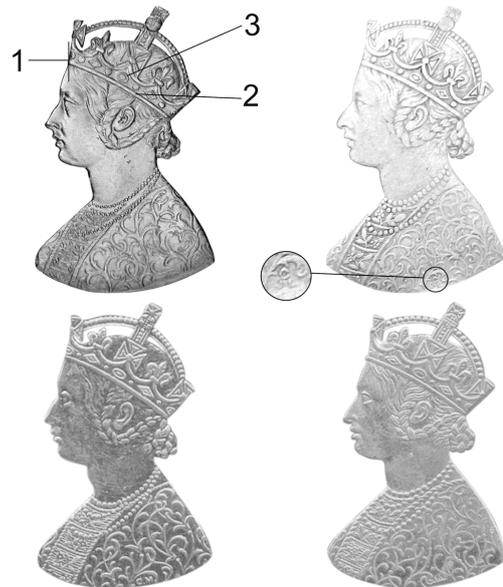


Fig. 11. Points of similarity between (clockwise from top left) 1867 proof/pattern rupee, new obverse 'CJL', ten rupees, and five rupees:

1. Hair plait commences at the point where the crown rests on the forehead.
2. Lower band or rim of the circlet is plain.
3. Central jewel of the crown is plain and not surrounded by beads.
4. The five-petal flowers in the 3½ dress panels of the 'CJL' and five rupee coins are in almost identical positions.
5. The five rupee coin has a 'J' on the right hand corner of the jabot.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank Shailendra Bhandare and Paul Stevens for their conversations on this topic. He also wishes to thank Ratan Daryanani of Mumbai for sharing pictures of his 1867 pattern rupee, and Kamal Misra of Lucknow for making his specimen of 'CJL' rupee available for study purposes.

References

1. *India's 1862 Rupees*, by George Falcke and Robert L. Clarke, Krause Publications, INC Iola, Wisconsin, USA (1970).
5. *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the end of the reign of George VI, 1952: Part 4 INDIA: Volume 2: Uniform Coinage, East Indian Company 1835-58, Imperial Period 1858-1947*, by F. Pridmore, Spink & Son Ltd, London (1980).
6. *The Numismatic Circular*, Vol. 13, Spink & Son Ltd, London (1905).

ONS NEWS

Obituary: Terry Hardaker

Terry Hardaker, the most significant contributor to the classification and study of Indian punchmarked coins, sadly passed away on October 18, 2019. Terry was also an archaeologist specialising in Palaeolithic surface studies in the UK and southern Africa. A geographer and cartographer by profession, he was also an accomplished wood carver. Terry was an Honorary Research Fellow, School of Archaeology, Classics & Egyptology, University of Liverpool, and an Honorary Research Associate, Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.



Terry Hardaker

Together with P.L. Gupta, Terry devised the peerless Gupta Hardaker (GH) system of classifying and attributing Magadhan *karshapana* coinage. He also recently published a comprehensive study of pre-imperial or 'Archaic' punchmarked coins issued north of the Deccan.

Terry is survived by his wife and daughter. He will be sorely missed for his erudition, knowledge and impeccable numismatic skills.

Shailendra Bhandare

New officers of the Society

The society has seen two changes in our officers. Ben Bream stepped down as Treasurer at the annual general meeting in September 2019, with Ashok Jain elected in his place. We thank Ben for his stewardship of the accounts of the society.

Ashok Jain is a well-known numismatist specialising in Mughal coinage. He started collecting coins while still in primary school in rural north India. He was trained as a doctor of medicine at the Armed Forces Medical School, Pune and King's College, London. His numismatic activity had to be put on hold due to his studies (1960s) and career as a junior doctor (1970s), first in New Delhi, then in Shiraz (Iran), and finally as a General Practitioner in London. It was not until 2000 when he could return to collecting coins once again.



Ashok Jain

His collection of Indian coins spans from the earliest period until 1947, but his focus is on collecting Mughal coins. After retiring from general practice, he has been able to devote more time to enhancing his knowledge of Mughal history. We wish Ashok all the best for his appointment.

There has also been a change in the Regional Secretary for Pakistan, with Shafqat Mirza stepping down after 27 years of service. We thank Shafqat for his promotion of numismatics in Pakistan.

Haroon Tareen is the new Regional Secretary for Pakistan. He is a retired civil servant with a master's degree in defence and strategic studies. His interest in numismatics dates back to the mid-1980s, and as a collector he now focuses on a few series. He can read both Persian and Arabic.



Haroon Tareen

Karan Singh

Study Day, Oxford (22 June, 2019)

A study day was held in June at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, which was attended by UK members and one visitor from Pakistan.

The first talk was given by Joe Cribb on *Afghanistan: Coinage During the Transition to Islamic Rule 690-750 CE*, in which he discussed the coinage of Jowzjan and Gandhara in the decades after the first Arab raids. Though Arab armies advanced to Afghanistan

rapidly, this soon slowed and many local kingdoms operated as quasi-independent polities on the boundary for centuries. Joe focused on a hoard of 214 silver coins in the collection of Charles Masson, currently stored at the British Museum, which illustrated the history of one of these.



Joe Cribb discussing coins from the Masson Collection



Fig. 1. Silver drachm of Zhulad Gozgan, king of Ghor, c. 700 CE



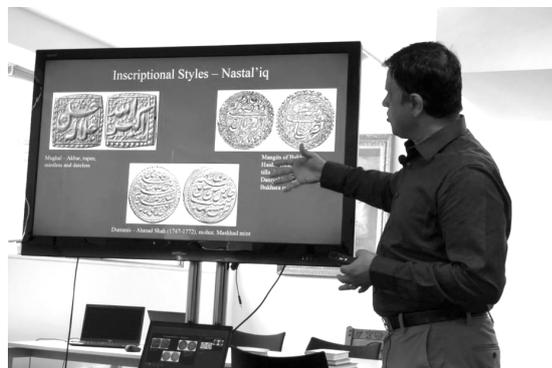
Fig. 2. Silver drachm of Tegin, king of Khurasan, c. 710-730 CE

After this Gul Rahim Khan, visiting from the University of Peshawar, gave a talk on *Excavations at an Indo-Greek Site in the Peshawar Valley*. He updated members on the excavations, now in their third season, of a metal working complex, whose boundary walls have now been identified. His talk illustrated the progress made since the last season, the over-all plan of the site as now known, as well as the structures, ceramics, and coins found at the site.



Gul Rahim Khan presenting his findings

After lunch in Oxford's busy food market, members reconvened to hear Shailendra Bhandare talk about *Islamic Art and Coinage in Context*. First, he presented the range of academic theories dedicated to material culture. Then he gave an overview of some of the most interesting designs in Islamic coins, from the earliest types to the resurrection of ancient numismatic designs on Artuqid coinage and the decorative ciphers of the Ottomans.



Shailendra Bhandare showing calligraphy styles on Islamic coins

In the last talk of the day, *Umayyad Gold Coinage*, Graham Byfield began by discussing the early Islamic imitations of Byzantine gold coins and their transformation in the reforms of Abd al-Malik. Many of these coins are rare, but they have proven interesting because of the initial co-option of Christian designs and subsequent radical reform. Graham talked about when and how this happened, which led to an interesting discussion.



Fig. 3. Umayyad gold dinar of Abd al-Malik, 685-705 CE (CNG Triton XXII, Lot 1227)

The society is grateful for all the efforts in organising these events and the hospitality of the Ashmolean Museum. Some of these talks were recorded and, subject to time and the many uncertainties of digital technology, these will be made available to members via YouTube.

Hopefully this will provide an important platform for making ONS talks available to a wider audience. The video clips will not be permanently hosted, but members will be notified about new releases through Facebook and other avenues as they occur to us. If readers did not have an opportunity to attend, they will find that two talks from the previous UK study day are already available: Shailendra Bhandare on *Symbols of Kingship* and Paul Stevens on *The 1862 Review*.

Robert Bracey

ONS meeting, Ahmedabad (10 August, 2019)

The South Asia chapter held a meeting during the Ahmedabad Coins & Currency Fair 2019. It was attended by around 15 members along with prominent coin collectors and researchers from Gujarat and Saurashtra.

The meeting began with a talk by Amit Mehta, titled *An overview of the Coinage of Bharuch: From the Nawabs to the East India Company*, which focused on the coins issued from Bharuch between AH 1149 and AH 1221. He listed the different authorities that ruled over Bharuch along with their respective ruling periods.



Fig. 1. Bharuch silver rupee of Nek Alam Khan II

Amit emphasised that coins issued from Bharuch mint have the AH year off flan, which makes them immensely difficult to be attributed to specific local rulers. He showcased coins which had some parts of the AH year, thereby allowing these to be attributed to corresponding local rulers. Similarities were drawn between coins from different time frames on the basis of the symbols seen on the coins. Amit showcased images of some rare and unique coins from Bharuch in his talk.

The next to present was Harun Shaikh and his topic was *Coronation of Aurangzeb and a Few Important Events around 21st July 1658 and 15th June, 1659*.



Fig. 2. 'Ahad' issue rupee of Aurangzeb (Zeno no. 156791)

Harun started the talk by presenting the prevailing scenario in 1657-1658 CE when Shah Jahan had fallen sick and Dara Shikoh was the preferred candidate to become the next Mughal emperor. Harun went on to describe how Murad Baksh and Shah Shuja declared themselves the emperor in the areas that they were governing, and how Aurangzeb went on to capture and defeat each of his brothers before finally proclaiming himself as emperor.

Harun highlighted the fact that Aurangzeb was coronated twice; the first time near Delhi on 21st July, 1658 and the second time in Delhi fort on 15th June, 1659. He then went on to showcase certain coins which corresponded to the dual coronations. He also spoke about a certain coin in the name of Aurangzeb which had the AH year as 1067 and how the year could be an error in inscription. There was a healthy debate on the topic with a lot of participation by the audience.



Zubair Motiwala discussing the 1862 rupee

Zubair Motiwala then gave a presentation on the *Coins of British India*. He highlighted a few key aspects of the coinage of the British in India and spoke about the mint masters' initials.

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Zubair specifically spoke about the dotted series of the 1862 rupees of Queen Victoria and explained how dots from the coins of earlier years were erased and new dots were put in their place, giving the illusion that coins had extra dots than the maximum they could have.



Fig. 3. Close up of dots on 1862 rupee

The final talk for the day was by Prakash Jinjuvadiya on *The Depiction of Gajalakshmi on Saurashtra Coins*. He provided various references about Saurashtra in historical texts, and presented the various punchmarked coins of the region, bearing a wide range of symbols, including animals and geometric symbols.



Prakash Jinjuvadiya delivering his talk

Prakash subsequently discussed in detail the Gajalakshmi icon (Lakshmi flanked by two elephants) and showcased its variations seen on the coins of Saurashtra. He also presented coins of other regions that featured Gajalakshmi.

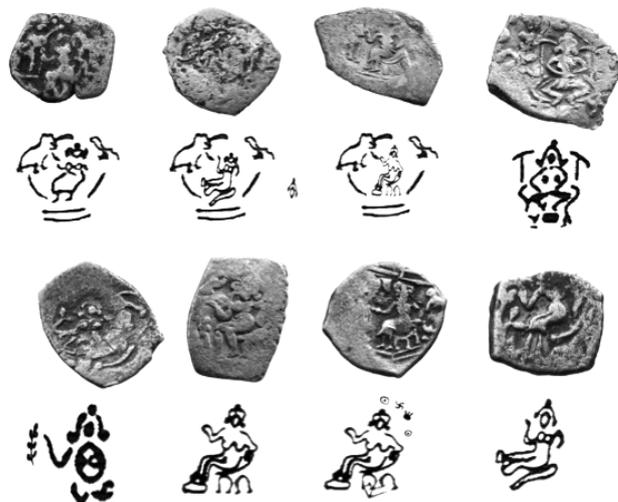


Fig. 4. Different depictions of Lakshmi seen on Saurashtra punchmarked coins

The meeting ended with Jagdish Agarwal recounting his memories of the opening of the Society, and S.D. Bhatt emphasising the importance of contemporary text sources in numismatic research. Shatrughan Saravagi of Classical Numismatic Gallery, Ahmedabad, organised the tea which was served during the meeting.

Mohit Kapoor

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